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BRAHMADATTA : AN OLD VEDĀNTIN.

By

Prof. M. Hiriyanna M.A., L.T., Mysore.

THE earliest commentaries on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedānta-Sūtras* that have come down to us are those of Śaṅkara; but we know there were still earlier ones, for Śaṅkara himself often cites the opinions of other interpreters of these ancient works either in support of his own view[1] or more frequently for the purpose of criticising them[2]. It is, however, only rarely that we are able to ascribe such opinions to individual thinkers. The salient features of one such old Vedāntic thinker—Bhartṛprapañca were noticed by the present writer in the *Indian Antiquary* for June, 1924. It is proposed to call attention here to those of another viz., Brahmadatta. This name is even less familiar than that of Bhartṛprapañca; and it is difficult to say exactly when he flourished or what works he wrote. All that we know is that he could not have been later than Śaṅkara, for allusions to his views are found in the works of his disciple, Sureśvara[3], and that he probably wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta-Sūtras*[4]. As

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1. Compare for example the reference to Dramiḍācārya in the *bhāṣya* on Ch. Up. III viii-x.

2. E.g. the views of the *Vṛtti-kāra* under *Vedānta-sūtras* I i 4 and 12-19.

3. See later. The tradition current among one section of the *Vedāntins*—the *Dvaitins*—represents Śaṅkara as having met Brahmadatta (See *Maṇi-mañjarī* vi 2-3) though much reliance cannot be placed upon it owing to its confused character.

4. Compare the well-known passage in the beginning of the *Siddhitraya* of *Yāmuna-muni* :

यद्यपि भगवता बादरायणेनेदमर्थान्येव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । विवृतानि च तानि परिमितगम्भीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता । विस्तृतानि च तानि गम्भीरन्यायसागरभाषिणा भगवता श्रीवत्साङ्कमिश्रेणापि । तथाप्याचार्यटङ्क-भर्तृप्रपञ्च-भर्तृमित्र-भर्तृहरि-ब्रह्मदत्त-शङ्कर-श्रीवत्साङ्क (?) भास्करादिविरचितसितासितविविधनिबन्धनश्रद्धाविप्रलब्धबुद्धयो न यथावदन्यथा च प्रतिपद्यन्त इति तत्प्रतिपत्तये युक्तः प्रकरणप्रक्रमः ॥

regards the view he took of *Upaniṣadic* teaching, it seems to have been, as we shall see, monistic and to have approximated to Śaṅkara's *Advaita*[1] with which accordingly we shall contrast it in the sequel.

One of the chief doctrines held by Brahmadatta was that of the non-eternality of the *Jīva*. Vedānta-deśika mentions this point explicitly in the *Sarvārtha-siddhi* which is a commentary on his own *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa*. As stated there, *Brahman* is the only ultimate principle in Brahmadatta's view, and everything else including the *Jīva* is derived from it : एकं ब्रह्मैव नित्यं तदितरदखिलं तत्र जन्मादिभागित्याम्नातं तेन जीवोऽप्यचिदिव जनिमान् ॥ (ii 16). The *Jīva* not only originates; it also perishes. Vedānta-deśika divides the exponents of the view that the *Jīva* is not eternal into four classes[2] :—

(i) the *Vijñāna-vādins* who maintain that it is momentarily renewed;

(ii) a type of *Cārvākas*, according to whom it endures throughout life but ceases to exist at death ;

(iii) a section of *Paurāṇikas* who believe that it survives the body but lasts only till *pralaya*; and

(iv) a school of *Vedāntins* who grant being to it only till it attains *mokṣa*.

Vedānta-deśika describes the last as pseudo-*Vedāntins* (औपनिषदाभासाः) and Brahmadatta is to be reckoned as one of them. The doctrine that the individual soul originates and perishes is indeed a striking deviation from *Vedānta* as it is commonly understood. Bādarāyaṇa himself discusses this question in his *Sūtras* (II iii 17) and, according to the commentaries still preserved, he decides against the doctrine, whatever Brahmadatta might have understood from that *sūtra* if he wrote a commentary upon Bādarāyaṇa's work. In favour of the current view, it may be urged that the *Upaniṣads* do not as a rule mention the *Jīva* in the sections describing creation as they do the material world. Yet it would not be difficult to discover a couple of statements both in the *Śruti* and the *Smṛti* to support Brahma-

1. Though there are various shades of *Advaita*, the term is used in this paper exclusively for Śaṅkara's doctrine.

2. *Sarvārtha-siddhi* ii 17.

datta's view[1], and we know from Rāmānuja[2] that at least one ancient teacher, Āśmarathya, maintained like Brahmadatta, though probably not in exactly the same sense, that the *Jīva* emerges from *Brahman* and lapses back into it at *mokṣa*[3]. It is evidently on such authorities that Brahmadatta should have based his unique doctrine. It is, however, unacceptable now not only to *Advaitins* but to all *Vedāntins* alike and Vedānta-deśika dismisses it summarily as due to the fancy of persons not fully conversant with the *Upaniṣads*.

It is well known that according to Śaṅkara, the proximate cause of *mokṣa* or, more strictly, of the dispelling of *avidyā* is the knowledge that arises from the *mahāvākyas* like *Tat tvam asi*. He makes a sharp distinction between *jñāna* and *upāsana*; and while he admits an injunction (*vidhi*) in respect of the latter, he stoutly denies its possibility in the case of the former[4]. Right knowledge which alone can remove *avidyā* is eventually dependent, as experience shows, upon reality (*vastu-tantra*) and not upon our will (*puruṣa-tantra*), so that a behest can have no direct part to play in the genesis of self-knowledge. In holding such a view, Śaṅkara stands alone; and practically all the other *Vedāntins* reject this distinction between *jñāna* and *upāsana*, and admit an injunction in one form or another in respect of the knowledge of the self. They thus fall into line with the *Mīmāṁsakas*, who hold that the main purpose of the Veda as a whole is to inspire activity by prescribing something to be achieved, and not merely to state matters of fact. The only difference between the *Pūrva*-and *Uttara-kāṇḍas* according to these *Vedāntins*, is that while in the former what is prescribed is generally a sacrificial act, in the latter, it is meditation which is purely a mental act. Thus it is injunctive statements found in the *Upaniṣads* like *Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ* that are of primary importance and not assertive propositions like *Tat tvam asi* which only subserve them by furnishing the theme for the meditation prescribed. The meditation, if it is to be practised, presupposes a knowledge

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1. Compare, तोयेन जीवान् व्यचसर्ज भूम्याम् । *Mahānārāyaṇa Up.* i 4.
प्रकृतिर्या मयाख्याता व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपिणी ।
पुरुषश्चाप्युभावेतौ लीयेते परमात्मनि ॥ (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa* VI iv 39).

2. See *Śrī-bhāṣya* (I iv 20)

3. Āśmarathya was a *bhedābheda-vādin* which Brahmadatta probably was not (see *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* (i 68).

4. Compare for instance *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* I i 4.

of certain details such as the nature of *ātman*—the object to be meditated upon. The purpose of statements like *Tat tvam asi* is merely to impart this knowledge and not directly to lead to self-realisation. The *ātman* therefore is, in *Mīmāmsā* phraseology, the *śeṣa* of the *upāsanā-vidhi*. This school of *Upaniṣadic* interpretation often comes to be criticised in *Advaitic* works and Śaṅkara himself refers to it at some length, for instance, in his commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (I iv 7). Brahmadatta seems to have followed the generality of *Vedāntins* and maintained that the *jñāna-kāṇḍa* like the *karma-kāṇḍa* is primarily concerned with a *sādhya* or something to be effected. That such was his view is known from the *Vidyā-surabhi*, an unpublished commentary by *Jñānāmṛta* on the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* of Sureśvara which is found in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. In i-67 of Sureśvara's work, we read-

केचित्स्वसंप्रदायबलावष्टम्भादाहुर्यदेतद्वेदान्तवाक्यादहं ब्रह्मेति विज्ञानं समुत्पद्यते तन्नैव स्वोत्पत्तिमात्रेणाज्ञानं निरस्यति । किं तर्हि । अहन्यहनि द्राघीयसा कालेनोपासीनस्य सतो भावनोपचयान्निश्शेषमज्ञानमपगच्छति 'देवो भूत्वा देवानप्येति' इति श्रुतेः ॥

and in commenting upon it, the *Vidyā-surabhi* states that the allusion in *kecit* here is to Brahmadatta and others-केचित्-ब्रह्मदत्तादयः ।[1]

Now there are many meditations-each having its own appropriate *phala*-prescribed in the *Upaniṣads*, and they are classifiable in more than one way. In some, one external object is to be meditated upon as another, so that both are other than the person meditating ; in others, one of the two objects is always the *Jīva*. The latter variety is termed *aham-grahopāsana* and is the one with which we are here concerned. For in Brahmadatta's view, as shown by the passage quoted above, the final meditation to be practised by one desirous of achieving *mokṣa* is of the form *aham brahma asmi* which occurs in the *Upaniṣads* in the context of *ātmetyevopāsīta*[2]. Here a question arises as to whether the content of the meditation represents a fact or not. It may represent a fact as in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*, for instance ; or it may not, for *Brahman* as the cause of the universe may be viewed as

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1. See introduction to the revised Edition of the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* in the "Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series" (1925).

2. See Br. Up. I iv 7 & 10.

different from the effect *Jīva*, following the view of causation held for example in the *Nyāya*. That meditation of the latter form was also once recommended by some is borne out by the *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa*.[1] If in Brahmadatta's view *aham brahma asmi* represents a fact, the individual soul is in reality *Brahman* even before meditation, being an emanation from it (*vikāra* or *aṁśa*) and the meditation helps only the realisation of that fact which is commonly lost sight of. *Brahmaiva san brahmāpyeti.* Otherwise the *Jīva* would have to be regarded as distinct from *Brhman*, though, as the result of meditative power exercised in accordance with a scriptural injunction, it might finally be lost in it. In this case *mokṣa* would only be the annihilation of the *Jīva* and Brahmadatta would, like the *Naiyāyika*, be an *asatkārya-vādin*. It is possible that Brahmadatta held such a view. But to judge from the wording of the passage quoted above from the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* and of the commentary upon it, [2] he seems to have regarded the identity between the *Jīva* and *Brahman* as factual. The process of Brahma-realisation would then have to be represented as follows : The *vedāntic* disciple will first learn from the *Upaniṣads* the truth that the *Jīva* is really *Brahman*. But a mere knowledge by description of this kind cannot dispel *ajñāna* which has caused *saṁsāra*. It only sets the disciple on the way to seek the true means of realisation, just as in the case of a person mistaking a rope for a serpent, the assurance of a friend that it is not a serpent does not actually remove the fear arising from the mistake but only spirits him up to examine the object for himself, and by examination to shake off the fear once for all. In the present case, the knowledge derived from the *Upaniṣads* has to be dwelt upon almost constantly until it is transformed into knowledge by acquaintance.[3] Then the *ajñāna* disappears ; but

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1. P. 252-3 See also *Saṁbandha-vārtika* of Sureśvara: st. 702 & 845, Śaṅkara on *Vedānta-sūtras* IV i 3 : and also *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka* i 307-11.

2. The printed commentary by Jñānottama on this passage is as follows :—

ज्ञानस्य...कर्मभिस्समुच्चयोऽनुपपन्न इत्युक्तम् ; तदयुक्तम् । वाक्यजन्यज्ञानोत्तरकालीन-भावनोत्कर्षाद्भावनाजन्यसाक्षात्कारलक्षणज्ञानान्तरेणैवाज्ञानस्य निवृत्तेर्ज्ञानाभ्यासदशायां ज्ञानस्य कर्मणा समुच्चयोपपत्तेरित्येकदेशिनां मतमुत्थाप्य निराकरोति ॥

3. See extract quoted in the note above. Such immediacy of knowledge is what is known as *bhāvanā-janya-pratyakṣa* which is recognized by Buddhists as well. Compare *e.g.*, *ṭīkā* on *Nyāyā-bindu* of Dharmakīrti (pp. 14-15).

actual *mokṣa*, as suggested by the parallel cited in this connection *Devo bhūtvā devān apyeti Bṛ Up*; IV—i-2-7 results only after divorce from the physical body. This process of realising *Brahman*, we may state in passing, is exactly like the one described in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (VI v 60-64) which, as we have already seen,[1] also agrees with Brahmadatta in holding that the *Jīva* is not eternal.[2].

So the central teaching of the *Upaniṣads*, according to these thinkers, is to be found in injunctive statements relating to self-knowledge and not in the *mahāvākyas* as the *Advaitins* hold. But the import of injunctive statements in the Veda may be understood in two ways—either as *bhāvanā*[3] according to the *Bhāṭṭas* or as *niyoga* accorning to the *Prābhākaras*. These two views represent one phase of the difference between the *pūrvapakṣas* considered in the two *varṇakas* into which it is usual to divide Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Samanvaya-sūtra*. We need not enter here into a discussion of the ethical and psychological implications of these views; it is enough for our purpose merely to note the distinction. Brahmadatta seems to have adopted the *niyoga* view as is shown by Ānanda-jñāna's commentary on the *Sambandha-vārtika* of Sureśvara. In this elaborate and most useful Introduction to Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Bṛ. Upaniṣad*, Sureśvara criticises both these ways of interpreting the *Upaniṣads* and in explaining the apparent duplication of criticism, he writes:—

भावनावर्त्मनैकात्म्ये विध्यर्थासंभवो यथा ।
अधिकारपरीक्षायां तथा प्राक् प्रतिपादितम् ॥
नियोगपक्षमाश्रित्य विध्यर्थासंभवो यथा ।
ऐकात्म्यसिद्धौ यत्नेन तथात्र प्रतिपाद्यते ॥

(St. 796-97).

In commenting upon these stanzas, Ānanda-jñāna remarks वार्तिककारमतेन वेदान्तेषु विधिमाशङ्क्य तत्कृत्याभावं...अवोचमित्यर्थः । इह तु ब्रह्मदत्तादिमतेन ज्ञानाभ्यासे विधिमाशङ्क्य निरस्यते । तन्न पुनरुक्तिः ॥

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1. See Note 1 on page 3.

2. See commentary printed in the Venkatesvara Press Edn. (Bomby) See also VI vii 29 & 30 ; 93-96.

3. The word *bhāvanā* here is distinct from that referred to in Note 3 on page 5.

The principle of *niyoga* itself seems to have been applied in more than one way to the interpretation of the *Upaniṣads*, and there are specific references in old works to at least two ways-one resulting in what is termed the *niṣprapañcī-karaṇa-niyoga-vāda* and the other, in what is termed the *dhyāna-niyoga-vāda*. Rāmānuja, for instance, discusses them in his *Śrī-bhāṣya* [1] and it is clear, from what we have stated so far, that Brahmadatta held the latter of these two views. The former view signifies *niyoga* in respect of what in *Advaitic* terminology may be described as *Tat-padārtha-śodhana*.

In explaining the discussion in Rāmānuja's *bhāṣya*, just referred to, the *Sruta-prakāśikā* ascribes both the *nioyga* views to *jaran-māyā-vādins*, who are termed *jarat* or 'old' presumably to contrast them with Śaṅkara and his followers whom it describes as *Sākṣān-māyāvādins.*[2] If we are right in describing Brahmadatta as a *vedāntin* advocating *dhyāna-niyoga*, we may also, it seems, conclude that he was a *māyā-vādin*. This conclusion agrees with the reference to *ajñāna* and its eventual removal in the passage quoted above from the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*. It also harmonises with our previous statement that the content of the meditation leading to *mokṣa* represents, according to Brahmadatta, a matter of fact and is not a mere fiction (*āropita*). If the *ātman* and *Brahman* are not really two, the commonly assumed distinction between them must in some sense be illusory or due to the operation of *māyā*. It is, however, hard to say in what precise form Brahmadatta enunciated the doctrine. Especially is it difficult to reconcile it with his belief that the *Jīva* has birth as well as death. In this connection, it is necessary to refer to the statement in the *Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka* of Sarvajñātman (III 217-221) that the *Vākyakāra* who commented upon the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* was a *māyā-vādin*. The *Vākyakāra* is believed to have been Brahmanandin and the commentaries on the *Sankṣepa-śārīraka* generally corroborate this belief. But one alone among them, viz., *Subodhinī* (printed in the Anandasrama Edn. of the work) takes the *Vākyakāra* as Brahmadatta. This is probably an error, particularly as the passage quoted from Yāmuna-muni

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1. See Nirnaya Sagara Edn. pp. 251 & 254. See also *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa* of Vedānta-deśika (ii 43 & 44) & Bhāskara's *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* I iv 21 (p. 83).

2. See Nirnaya Sagara Edn. already referred to p. 255.

in Note 4 on page 1 above, mentions Brahmadatta in addition to *Ācārya-Ṭaṅka* with whom Brahmanandin is identified.[1] If it be not an error, Brahmadatta would be an early and illustrious exponent of *Upaniṣadic* teaching whose authority more than one later school of *Vedānta* found it advantageous to quote.[2]

So far, we have treated of the theoretical teaching of Brahmadatta and we may now state what it is possible to gather about its practical side. Brahmadatta, as we know, distinguishes the knowledge of *Brahmanas* conveyed by the *Upaniṣads* from the one resulting through meditation. It is the latter alone that can, by removing *ajñāna*, lead to *mokṣa* or final disappearance in *Brahmaṅ*. In other words, the knowledge of *Brahman* that the *Upaniṣads* impart is in no case adequate to bring about release; it has to be followed up by meditation which should be continued till the end of life. That it should not cease till then, if it is to fulfil its object, is indicated by its comparison with the meditation alluded to in *Devo bhūtvā devān apyeti.* According to the principle involved there the *upāsaka* gets to know immediately the *upāsya-devatā* in this life, but for actual union with or disappearance in it, he has to wait till dissociation from the physical body takes place.[3] The same is also the implication of placing *mokṣa* on a footing similar to *svarga* by making it the fruit of observing a *Vedic vidhi*. *Svarga* is attainable only after death and the conception of *mokṣa* is likewise eschatological. We find further support for this conclusion in that the *dhyānaniyoga-vādin* does not, according to Rāmānuja, admit *jīvanmukti* as Śaṅkara does.[4] In one word, while *mokṣa* is a *dṛṣṭa-phala* according to the *Advaitin*, it is an *adṛṣṭa-phala* according to the *dhyāna-nīyoga-vādin*. What place does *karma* occupy in such a scheme? Śaṅkara, it is well known, discards *karma* as a cause of *mokṣa*, though he admits its indispensability as a means of getting the desire for *jñāna* (*vividiṣā*), the cause of *mokṣa*. In the case of a person that has acquired the necessary enlightenment and has realised *Brahman*, i.e., a *jīvanmukta*, there is no need

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1. See, for example, *ṭīkā* on Rāmānuja's *Vedārtha-saṅgraha* p. 153, Benares Edition, 1924.

2. See e.g. p. 34 of *Śrī-bhāṣya* (Nirnaya Sagara Edn.).

3. See *ṭīkā* on St. 27: *Bṛhad-vārtika* p. 1357 and the com: *Candrikā* on *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* (i 67).

4. See Rāmānujā's *bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-sūtras* (Nirnaya-Sagara Edn.) pp. 259-60.

for any *karma*. This follows easily from the premises of *Advaita* and *karma-saṁnyāsa* to him is, as it is said, *svataḥ-prāpta*. But even in the case of one that is still striving to acquire such enlightenment, there is, according to Śaṅkara, no obligation to perform *karma* provided one has already achieved *sattva-śuddhi* or *vairāgya*; for that is conceived as the *sole* purpose of *karma* in *Advaita*. In such a case, *karma-saṁnyāsa* may not be *svataḥ-prāpta*, but it is *vidhiprāpta*.[1] The disciple in this stage has to confine his attention entirely to the acquiring of the *jñāna* requisite for attaining *mokṣa*. In Brahmadatta's view also, there is a corresponding stage when the disciple, after knowing *Brahman* mediately through the formal study of the *Upaniṣads*, is trying to attain *mokṣa*. It is the stage when meditation in the form of *aham brahma asmi* is practised; and Brahmadatta's view is that *karma* is obligatory then. Since, as we have seen, meditation has to continue in this view till the end of life, there is no possibility of any one, however much advanced he may be in spirituality, renouncing *karma*. This view would count as *jñāna-karma-samuccaya* which is the last of the features we have to notice of Brahmadatta's teaching. Our support for concluding that Brahmadatta was a *samuccaya-vādin* is that it is as such that he is cited and criticised by Sureśvara in the passage quoted above from the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*.[2]

We may now summarise the doctrines of Brahmadatta to which we have so far referred :—

1. The *Jīva* like the physical world, comes into being from *Brahman* and is finally lost in it.
2. The central teaching of the *Upaniṣads* is to be found, not in assertive propositions like *Tat tvam asi*, but in injunctive ones like *Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ*.
3. The import of such injunctive statements is *niyoga* and not *bhāvanā*.
4. The *jīva* is not really distinct from *Brahman*, but only appears to be so.
5. There is no stage in the life of the *Vedāntic* disciple when *karma* may be dispensed with.

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1. See Śaṅkara's Introduction to *Aitareya-Upaniṣad*.
2. See also passage quoted in note 2 on page 5 as also St. i 67 : *Sāṅgatyam nāstyatonayoḥ*.

INDIAN CULTURE IN FUNAN AND CAMBODIA[1]

By

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MADRAS.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE Indo-Chinese Peninsula in which Hindu cultural influence so largely spread in the past, was originally peopled by an autochthonous Negrito race that has been super-imposed upon by several invading races and has left at the present day but few traces. First, the Austronesians crossed over to to the eastern part of the country across the Archipelago. "Their rear-guard is now represented by the Chams, Jarai, Rade, and other tribes speaking a language evidently akin to the Malay-Polynesian idioms though containing a large proportion of Mon-Khmer elements." Then came the Mon-Khmer race[2]—a wave in the great racial migration which set out from the North Indian plains, perhaps under pressure of the Aryans and swept down to the shores of the Chinese Sea. The Mon-Khmers containing two main branches, *viz.* the Mons of Pegu and the Khmers of Cambodia, represent possibly "the foremost link of a chain of languages called Austro-Asiatic whose other extremity consists of the group of Muṇḍā languages of Chutia-Nagpur in Bihar." Between the two there are intermediate links Palaung, Wa, Riang (Salween region) and Khasi (Assam) languages.[3] Then followed the Annamites, who being pressed out of Southern China, settled in modern Tong-King in the 3rd century B. C. and then came the Thai who spread over Yunnan, Burma, Laos and Siam. This expansion of the Thai was at the expense of the Mons, over the western portion of the continent, and was complete by the 13th century. These will indicate the ethnical compound of Cambodia and the neighbouring regions on which Indian culture worked its influence.

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1. Being a portion of the Honorary University Readership Lectures on Indian Culture in Indonesia and Insulindia delivered by the writer in *November* last.

2. L. Finot in *the Indian Historical Quarterly*; Vol. I, p. 601.

3. This view is supported according to Finot by Sylvain Levi and J. Przyluski.

The ancient Cambojans have been connected with the Muṇḍā-speaking tribes of India on the one side and with the Malays and Polynesians on the other. They were allied, in language, with the Mons or Talaings of Lower Burma, and some say, also to the Annamites—though recent investigation is "not disposed to maintain the Mon-Annam family of languages proposed."[1]

CAMBODIA.[2]

The history of the spread of Indian culture in Cambodia is largely the fruit of the researches of French scholars beginning with Dr. Jules Harmond and Captain Etienne Aymonier who made a systematic study of Cambodian inscriptions and brought out a monumental history of Cambodia in three volumes. The Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Cambodia were deciphered and edited by Mons. Bergaine, Barth, and Levi, supplemented by the work of M. George Coedes.[3] Latterly two good histories of Cambodia were brought out by M. Leclere who was for some time French Resident in Cambodia and M. Georges Maspero. Systematic collections of observations and notes have been made of Cambodian antiquities especially the remains of Angkor Vat and the Khmer monuments of Siamese Cambodia by scholars like Parmentier (the organiser of the Khmer Museum) and Finot (the Director of the French School at Hanoi). It is largely through the results of these researches that the influence of Indian culture and civilisation in the Khmer Empire of Cambodia has been made known to the world, and it is from French sources to a very large extent that writers have derived their material.

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1. Sir Charles Eliot *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1921, Vol. III. pp. 100-1.

2. The land is roughly identical with the French Protectorate of Camboja and lay between the ancient Dvāravatī and Campa. Cambodge is the accepted French spelling. But in English it is spelt differently as Cambodia, Kamboja, Camboja, etc.

3. Refer to:

E. Aymonier—*Le Cambodge*, 3 Vols. (1900-4).

A. Barth—*Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, (1885).

A. Bergaigne-*Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, (1893).

P. Pelliot—*Le Founan* in the Bulletin of the French School of Hanoi (B. E. F. E. O.) edited by Finot (III).

G. Maspero—*L' Empire Khmer*, (1904).

THE KINGDOM OF FUNAN.

The colonisation of the neighbouring region of Campa was said to have been made by Indians from the eastern parts of India, in the 1st century A. D. [1] About the same time Cambodia, know as Funan then, was also colonoised by Indians. The original inhabitants of Cambodia were the Khmers of the Mon-Khmer group (formed as already told of the Mons of Pegu and the Khmers of Cambodia) whose languages known as the Austro-Asiatic extend over the Malay Peninsula and portions of India. The Khmers are ethnically connected by scholars with the Muṇḍā tribes of India on the one hand and the Malays and the Polynesians on the other. The Khmers also called themselves Kamboja (or Kamvuja) ; and according to native tradition, the race is descended from Kambu Svāyambhuva and Mera or Pera who was given to him by Śiva as wife. "This legend hardly proves that the Khmer people came from India, but they undoubtedly received thence their civilisation, their royal family and a considerable number of Hindu immigrants so that the mythical ancestor of their kings naturally came to be regarded as the Progenitor of the Race." [2]

There is a doubt as to whether Cambodia (called by the Chinese Chen-la) [3] was the older kingdom of Funan or whether Funan was a wider designation including several states of which one was Chen-la (or Cambodia) which became paramount at the expense of the others. Both Funan [4] and Cambodia were

1. Epigraphical evidence of Vo-can points to South India as the home of the Indian colonists. P. 21 of P. Bose's "The Indian Colony of Champa".

2. Sir Charles Eliot-*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 101.

3. In the 13th century according to the Chinese Chau-ju-kua who visited these parts, the country was called by the natives Kan-ia-chih, and the then ruling dynasty called it Kan-iu-chich, on the authority of Sanskrit (Hsi-fan) works. The origin of the name Chen-la is not known for certain.

4. Funan roughly corresponded to Cochin-China, Cambodia, Lower Laos, Siam and a portion of the Malay Peninsula. It lay to the west of Campa and its Capital lay, according to Chinese authorities, 500 li from the sea, on a great river, probably the Mekong, near the Khmer site of Phnom-Penh. The Kingdom was 3000 li across and held the Khmers living in the Upper Mekong valley in subjection. According to Professor Maspero, Funan was something like Imperial Germany. According to M. Aymonier, Funan and Chen-la were the same, occupying *Modern Cambodia.*

subject thus early to Indian civilisation and religious influences. Funan was a Hindu colony which maintained its independent existence for five-hundred years. It is known to us only through Chinese writings. According to Professor Finot (*Indian Historical Quarterly* ; Vol. I, p. 611) the kingdom spread very far to the west as far as Tennaserim and roughly comprised Cochin-China, Cambodia (where its power centred) Lower Laos, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula. The empire had a powerful fleet and kept diplomatic relations with China. According to tradition the founder of the kingdom was a Brahmin, Kauṇḍinya by name, who married a Nāgī called Soma. The matriarchal system was prevalent among the people, and the Vaṁśakarī was Soma and the Vaṁśa itself came to be known as Somavaṁśa. King Candravarman (Chinese : Fan Chan) (first half of the 3rd century) established direct contact with India through the visit of an Indian trader who gave him a sketch of his own country ; the king sent an embassy which learned the conditions and customs of the Indians.[1] At the end of the 4th century A.D. so the Chinese texts say, a second Kauṇḍinya came to Funan who reformed the morals of the people according to Indian ideals. He may only have been a Hindu adventurer, " who in order to obtain a better welcome had usurped the name of the great civiliser of Funan." In the 5th century, (484 A. D.) according to the evidence of the Indian Bhikṣu, Śākya Nāgasena, who was sent as ambassador by King Kauṇḍinya Jayavarman of Funan to the Emperor of China, both Śaivism and Buddhism were prevalent, and bronze images of the *devas* were worshipped as well as Buddhist stūpas and relics.[2] According to Chinese books several holy Buddhists went from Funan to China and were employed in translating the holy scriptures into Chinese. The names of two of them were Saṅghapāla

1. The legendary pedigree of the kings of Funan was borrowed most likely from the Pallavas of South India. (L. Finot). This king, Fan Chan who sent an embassy to India which sailed from the port of Kin-li in the Malay Peninsula and returned after four years—just at the time when the Chinese Emperor, Wu, sent an ambassador to Funan. This latter embassy was depatched from China, according to Finot, between 244 and 252 A. D. and it learnt, among other things about India, that the name of the Indian King who was approached by the Funan embassy was Mu-lun (Murunda).

2. In 503 A. D. the same king sent another embassy to the Chinese Court with a coral image of the Buddha. This king died in 514 A.D.

and Mandra,[1] they arrived in China in the first years of the 6th century, and their works are still preserved. I-Tsing the Chinese pilgrim who came to India in the latter part of the 7th century says of Funan thus :—" It is the southern corner of Jambūdvīpa. Of old it was a country the inhabitants of which lived naked ; the people were mostly worshippers of devas and later on Buddhism flourished there, but a wicked king has now expelled and exterminated them all and there are no members of the Buddhist brotherhood at all.[2]

Under the name Chen-la Cambodia was a kingdom subordinate to Funan. According to Sir Charles Eliot, Funan might have been invaded (or influenced) by two waves of Indian colonists, possibly represented by the two Kauṇḍinyas, while Georges Maspero suggests that the first wave came from Java and formed part of the same movement which founded the kingdom of Campa. " It is remarkable that an inscription in Sanskrit found on the east coast of Borneo and apparently dating from the 5th century mentions Kuṇḍagga [3] as the grandfather of the reigning king. It seems likely that the Indian family of Kauṇḍinya was established somewhere in the south seas (perhaps in Java) at an early period and thence invaded various countries at various times."[4]

THE KINGDOM OF CAMBODIA.

For Cambodian history our main sources of information are the Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions supplemented by notices in

1. *I-Tsing* : *Translation* by J. Takakusu, p. 12.

2. Saṅghapāla (Born 460, died 524) worked at translations of the Buddhist scriptures for 16 years ; and Mandrasena came to China in 503 to help the other. But they could not master well the Chinese language.

3. In the Koetei yūpa Inscriptions of E. Borneo, mention is made of the reigning king Mūlavarman, his father Aśvavarman and his grandfather Kuṇḍunga. While this Kuṇḍunga (or Kuṇḍagga) is identified with the Indian colonising clan of Kauṇḍinya by Eliot, Professor Kern would say that he was probably a native of Borneo whose descendants and possibly who himself became Hinduised. M. Bergaigne was the first to draw attention to the fact that in all the Sanskrit inscriptions of Indo-China, with the one exception of the Vocan Rock Inscription, we meet with royal names ending exclusively in *varman*. Also all the early records of Indo-China exclusively use the śaka era, like the Pallavas and other South Indian dynasties (J. Ph. Vogel. *The yūpa Inscriptions of King Mūlavarman from Koeter*.)

4. Eliot, *Hindusim and Buddhism*. Vol. III, p. 107.

the Chinese annals. Later we have Cambodian annals of doubtful value and also inscriptions in Pālli or in modern Cambojan. A Sanskrit inscription speaks of a Kambu Svāyambhuva (mentioned above) who was obviously a kind of Cambodian Manu from whom the people trace their descent.[1] After Kambu comes Śrutavarman, whom M. Bergaigne takes as the first King of Cambodia and who was the father of Śreṣṭhavarman, the lord of Śreṣṭhapura (which lay near Bassac in Laos, 15 degrees north latitude). It is held by M. Barth and other high authorities that the line of Śrutavarman was mythical and another line beginning with Rudravarman descended in the female line from Kauṇḍinya Soma (? the founder of the greatness of Funan) was historical. According to Professor Phaṇīndra Bose, (*The Hindu Colony of Cambodia* ; 1927 ; p. 57) Rudravarman was preceded by Kauṇḍinya who again was preceded after a break by Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman[2] who were more or less uncertain figures. These two latter might have been local chiefs. But it is only from Rudravarman that we come upon firm ground. The Ang Chumnik Inscription gives a list of Cambojan Kings with Rudravarman at their head.

Rudravarman is highly praised in inscriptions as being equal to Dilīpa and Viṣṇu Trivikrama. His date might have been about 570 A. D. In his time Hinduism had already gained firm ground in Cambodia ; the triad of Śiva and Brahma and Viṣṇu were known as well as the stories of Dilīpa and the Aśvins, and the Indian medical science was also well-known at court. He was succeeded by Bhavavarman[3] in whose reign

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1. Just as the kings of Funan claimed to be the descendants of the Brahman Kauṇḍinya and the Nāgi Soma, so the first kings of Cambodia claimed as their ancestors Maharṣi Kambu and the *apsaras* Mera ; and hence they were known as *Kambujas* (born of Kambu. Finot in *The I. H. Quartery* Vol. I, p. 614.)

2. Śrutavarman was the first *Indian* king of Cambodia ; and his name was fondly cherished as the head of the Cambojan royal line. Śreṣṭhavarman was the Ādirāja of Śreṣṭhapura, the first capital of Cambodia. These reigns saw the spread of Indian culture in Cambodia.

3. Bhavavarman was not connected with Rudravarman by blood ; he was the son of one Vīravarman and came to the throne with the help of a revolution. His sister was married to the Brahman, Somaśarman, who was "a moon among Brahmans" (*dvijēndu*).

his vigorous younger brother Citrasenā conquered Funan and afterwards bore the regal name of Mahendravarman. Bhavavarman is highly praised in inscriptions, credited with the title of Mahārājādhirāja and was possibily of Brahman origin. He was pre-eminently a Hindu, encouraged the propagation of the Brahmanic faiths, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and the Śakti cult, and paid respect to Śambhuviṣṇu. (Ind : Harihara) whose worship was very popular in the neighbouring kingdom of Campa. The Cambodians were thus then familiar with the Veda, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas ; and these were recited in temples etc. Bhavavarman reigned possibly about 590 B.C. and his rule extended even to portions of modern Siam and the whole lower course of the Mekong.

Citrasena, Mahendravarman, [1] the real conqueror of Funan, who succeeded Bhavavarman entered into friendly relations with the Hindu colony of Campa further encouraged the growth of Śaivism (of the Vedāntic type according to M. Barth). He was succeeded by Īśānavarman who had three inscriptions to his credit. In his reign Hindu Āśramas meant to be used by monks were founded. One of his inscriptions tells us of an image (liṅga), of Viṣṇu, and Īśāna Caṇḍeśvara (a unique departure in the history of Indian iconography.) Īśānavarman sent the first embassy to the court of China about 616 or 617 A. D.

The inscriptions of the time of King Jayavarman (Cir A. D. 665) compare him to God Sahasrākṣa and indicate the existence of Buddhism as they mention Buddhist Bhikṣus. The Brahmanic faith began to make real progress among the Khmers in this epoch.

The 8th century is a dark period [2] for the history of Cambodia when the kingdom was split up into several smaller principalities (among them being the Water Cambodia and Land

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1. The Bayang Inscription of 526-46 *Śaka* forming the earliest epigraphical record of Camboja is of his reign ; and it makes mention of a restored temple of Śambhupāda (foot of Śiva).

2. The epigraphic history of Cambodia is continuous from the 6th to the 13th centuries, except for one lacuna (about 650 to 800 A. D.). " Notices in the Chinese annals, confirmed by the double genealogies given for this period in later inscriptions, indicate that Camboja was divided for some time into two states, one littoral and the other inland" (Eliot-Vol. III, p. 109). Clear history is restored only with Jayavarman II (802-869).

Cambodia of M. Finot). These two states were united by Jayavarman II in 802 A. D. who began a new dynasty and "hailed from Java (the Malay Peninsula) and introduced the new type of sandstone architecture, built several strongholds and began the construction of the great capital which bore later on the name of Yaśodharapura, modern Angkor-Thom.[1] Most of his pious foundations were dedicated to Lokeśvara. This leads us to suppose that he was a Buddhist at least in the beginning of his reign. Later on he probably adopted śaivism as the state religion and instituted the worship of the Liṅga called Devarāja, a national god, whose temple was situated in the centre of the capital and with whom the reigning King was never to part".[2]

The line of Jayavarman II covered Cambodia with magnificent monuments. Among his successors may be noted Indravarman I (877-889), Yaśovarman[3] (889-cir 910) who was a pious Hindu and was a most remarkable builder ; Rājendravarman[4] (944-961 A. D.) in whose reign Buddhism spread among the Khmers, but not to the decay of Brahmanism and who was learned in Pāṇini ; and Sūryavarman II (1112-1152 cir A. D.) who erected the magnificent shrine of Viṣṇu, now called the Angkor Vat, had diplomatic intercourse with China ; and shortly after him the dynasty began to decline. Some authorities say that he

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1. Angkor is the greatest achievement of the Khmer race. In its centre stands the Temple of Bayon and just outside its walls is the majestic Angkor Vat. Angkor is the Cambojan corruption of Nokore Nagara.

2. Finot in the *I. H. Q.* Vol. I, pp. 615-16.

3. In his reign, according to M. Bergaigne inscriptions occur with two phases, where the same text is written in two characters. His reign is rich in epigraphic material, he fixed the limits of caste which had spread into Cambodia and erected magnificent buildings near about Angkor Thom whose founder was, however, Jayavarman II. His empire extended from Campa to Burma, and his inscription on the Prah Bat (Sacred Foot) on the hill of Chokung gives the history of his family.

4. His inscriptions pay homage to Buddha, Vajrapāṇi, and Prajñāpāramitā ; but he was not ungenerous towards Hinduism, and he continued to promote Śaiva worship.

made a successful expedition to Ceylon and succeeded in uniting Cambodia and Campa for the time.[1]

The last great sovereign of Cambodia was Jayavarman VII (1181-1201, A. D.) who was a fervent Buddhist and founded numerous hospitals in which patients were treated without any distinctions of caste. In one of his inscriptions he says "the bodily pain of men became in him a pain of the soul, and the more smarting, for it is the suffering of the state which makes the suffering of the kings and not their own".[2] In another inscription he gave a sort of statistical description of the religious and medical establishments of his kingdom. After him the power and glory of Cambodia began to decline ; and even the chronology becomes vague for a century.

Under one of the decadent kings of Cambodia Śrīndravarman, the remarkable shrine of Tribhuvana Maheśvara at Īśvarapura, north-east of Angkor, one of the most remarkable of Khmer buildings, was constructed. A Chinese embassy came to the country in 1926 and left an interesting account of the kingdom and the king, and of the capital Angkor Thom with its palaces and temples.[3] (P. Bose "The Hindu Colony of Cambodia" pp. 243-8) and B. E. F. E. O. II. (*tr.* by P. Pelliot.)

Wars with Siam and Campa were the main causes of the downfall of Cambodia. In the 15th century the kings abandoned their capital [4] to the Siamese conquerors and in the next century the land came to be a prey of Siamese and Annamese rivals with the Dutch and Portuguese trying to extend their influence on the coast.

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1. Sūryavarman I ruled early in the 11th century and rearranged the caste-system. His name-sake and successor conquered an island (probably Malacca) and was compared to Rāma himself.

2. Finot in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. I, p. 616.

3. The account of this traveller shows that though the kingdom was declining it was still living, and not fallen into anarchy. It does not give us the name of the reigning king.

4. The Siamese captured Angkor Thom in 1313, 1351 and 1420. Again in 1473 they captured Chautaboun and Angkor. There was some revival of the Cambodian power in the first half of the 16th century; but in 1574 the Siamese gave the death blow to the power of the Khmers. The attenuated Khmer kingdom continued to exist on, being a prey to Siam and Annam alternately till the creation of the French Protectorate.

Hindū Influences.

It is only with the coming of the Indian colonists that the Khmers came to be really civilised. The Khmers were gradually Indianised, their kings claimed Indian descent ; Brahmins were favoured at court. From the 6th to the 12th centuries Brahmanism and Mahāyānism were professed by the court and the nobility, but these were not mutually hostile. In this age the mass of the people had their own native worship and deities, the more important of which were identified with Indian deities or received Sanskrit names.[1]

Śiva was the presiding divinity of the Khmer country, its national god, possibly some local gods of the Khmers were converted into Śiva (*e. g.* Maratakeśvara). According to Eliot the sects of the Pāśupata and Liṅgāyats were also prevalent. Śiva was identified with the Paramātman of the Upaniṣads and with the supreme God. There was a tendency to apply to the cult of Śiva very many Vedic words. Liṅga worship was prevalent as early as the 7th century, the worship of Śiva being of course a little earlier. Śaiva Āgamas were also known like *Spandavṛtti*, *Parameśvaratantra* etc. which lead to one source, which is the 25th of the twenty-eight Āgamas of the Śaivas of South India.[2] There is no trace of hostility to Vaiṣṇavism, and earlier inscriptions praise the compound deity, Viṣṇu-Śiva under names like Hari-Hara, Śambhu-Viṣṇu, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa etc.

Religion was closely connected with the State, and the deities were identified with kings or prominent personages who were commemorated by posthumous statues, reproducing their features, but representing them with the attributes of their favourite gods. " The temple of Bayon was a truly national fame, almost a Westminster Abbey, in whose many shrines all the Gods and great men of the country were commemorated." There were in the land four classes of shrines dedicated to :—

1. Indian deities, Śiva, Devī and Viṣṇu ;

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1. The religious history of the land may be said to fall into two periods :—Brahmanism and Mahāyānist Buddhism flourishing in the first period in mutual harmony, and lasting till about the end of the 14th century ; later Hīnayānism under the influence of Siam spread, though a large part of the ritual of the royal court continued to be Brahminical in colour. (Eliot-Vol. III, p. 112).

2. Bose : p. 272.

2. Mahāyānist Buddhas especially Buddhas of healing who were regarded as the patron of saints of various towns and mountains ;

3. Similar local cities apparently of Cambodian origin and perhaps corresponding to the God of the city, (Nagareśvara) worshipped in every Chinese town and

4. Deified kings and notables who appear to have been represented in two forms, the human and the divine being slightly different in names.[1]

These double names of kings, indicating their personal names as well as their posthumous titles taken after their favourite gods, are found in the Sdok Kok Thom inscription e. g., Yaśovarman Paramaśivaloka and the lady Śrī Mahendralakṣmī Śrī Mahendreśvarī (divine form or *varāha-rūpa*). Not only dead men but living people also were represented by statue portraites which identified them with deities.

The Brahmanism of Cambodia was largely connected with the worship of the Royal God ; thus religion came to be a department of the state, and the King's chaplain or preceptor claimed a pontifical position. Jayavarman II made the priesthood of the Royal God hereditary in the family of Śivakaivalya which enjoyed for some centuries a sacerdotal authority, almost regal in character. No king could succeed unless consecrated by them.

Sanskrit literature was held in esteem. Sūryavarman I (cir 1002 A. D.) was well-versed in the Atharva Veda, the Bhāṣya, the Six Darśanas, and the Dharmaśāstras. Inscriptions tell us of the frequent performance of sacrifices ; and " the old Vedic ritual remained to some extent in practice, for no circumstances are more favourable to its survival than a wealthy court dominated by a powerful hierarchy".

Temples had large establishments of officials and slaves, besides priests who were in many cases appointed by the king himself. Among gifts books were given over to Gods and the recitations of sacred books were provided for without interruption. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Gaṅgā, Lakṣmī, Umā, and other deities also were popular

Mahāyānist Buddhism was also prevalent in the country but was closely connected with Brahminism, so that it is difficult to

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1. Eliot ; Vol. III, p. 115.

separate the two. The earliest record of its existence is an inscription of the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century, which mentions Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara and another Bodhisattva. Yaśovarman founded in Angkor Thom a Buddhist monastery (or Saṅghārāma) whose inmates were to enjoy the same privileges as those of the Brāhmaṇāśramas already noted. From the 10th century Mahāyānism came to be encouraged by the ministers who introduced the books of Vasubandhu, who according to the Tibetan historian Tārānatha, introduced Buddhism into Indo-China. We actually find a Trinity composed of Brahmā (Padmodbhava) Viṣṇu (Ambujanetra) and the Buddha. " Possibly the kings while co-operating with a (Brahmanical) priesthood which recognised them as semi-divine, were glad enough to let other religious elements form some sort of counterpoise to a priestly family which threatened to be omnipotent. . . . . and the inscriptions of the Buddhist ministers are marked by a certain diplomacy and self-congratulation on the success of their efforts, as if they felt that their position was meritorious, yet delicate." (Eliot Vol. III, p. 122.)

Buddhism became the state religion of the country superseding Śaivism during the reign of Jayavarman VII (cir. 1185 A. D.) though Śaivism and Hindu Mythology continued to flourish. About the same time that religion became prominent in Java and Campa ; and the flourishing of the faith in Ceylon and Burma led to its growth in all south-eastern Asia. The inscription of Jayavarman found in the temple of Ta Prohm (near Angkor) indicates an extensive Brahmanical cult existing side by side with Buddhist ceremonial, while the Chinese visitor (Chou-Ta-Kuan) of Angkor in 1296 gives an interesting description of the religious condition (translated by P. Pelliot in the *Bulletin* of the French School of Hanoi for 1902). Siamese Buddhism later on invaded Cambodia and destroyed the Brahmanical shrines and centres. The connection with the Hindus of India was not kept up after the 13th century. But the tide of Moslem invasion which swept across the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago touched Campa, but could affect Siam and Cambodia which lay on one side of its main route—except that a solitary king of Cambodia in the 17th century became a Muhammadan. Brahminism still survives in the court ceremonial of the native chiefs of the land, but this does not prevent the king from being a devout

Buddhist. The religion of the country at present resembles the Buddhism of Siam marked by numerous monasteries and monks arranged into a hierarchy.

Indian literature in Cambodia was largely connected with the worship of Śiva, but the epics (Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata) works on logic and grammar and other Brahamnical works were also well-known. The epics were very popular, the Vedas are referred to in the inscriptions, and we find mention of the Vedānta, the Smṛti, the Aṣṭāṅga Yoga, the Nyāya, Patañjali's Bhāṣya and Manu. Pāṇini's work was known as the Śivaśāstra, and king Yaśovarman was versed among other sciences in the works of Suśruta. The Arthaśāstra was also studied.

The king bore the title of Kamviyarājendra, Lord of Kambudeśa (or Kambubhū) as well as the names of Rājādhirāja, Mahārājādhirāja, Pṛthivīpati, Samrāṭ, etc. They claimed descent from the ancient Indian dynasties (from Soma Vaṁśa, Sūrya Vaṁśa, and Kauṇḍinyavaṁśa). It is difficult to say whether the early Indo-Khmer kings were of pure Brahminic origin, but we find frequently that the princesses were married to Brahmins (*e. g.*, the daughter of Rājendravarman, Indralakṣmī was married to the chief of the Brahmins, Divākara Bhaṭṭa.) The chief minister was known as the Rājamahāmātya, other ministers were known as Mantrins. The generals were known as Balādhipas and the commander-in-chief was entitled the Mahāsenāpati who was often the King's brother as in the case of Citrasena, the brother of Bhavavarman and the conqueror of Funan. Medical men found a place in the royal court and the ministers were often hereditary. The Rājaguru was an important personage and was supplemented by the astrologer and a host of Brahmins. The king was the supreme head of government and of the army. He was the highest judge. " His powers were unlimited. He was bound by no constitution, but was expected to rule according to the Indian Law Books ".[1]

The principal queen bore the title of Devi Hyan or Agra Mahiṣī. Caste system was prevalent in some form ; we find instances of the rearrangement of castes attempted by kings. The four āśramas of the Brahminic life were also copied in Cambodia. Sūryavarman I rearranged the castes (Varma bhāga) and placed Śivācārya at their head (Varuṇaśreṣtha).

1. N. Bose p. 326.

CAMBODIAN MONUMENTS.[1]

The Khmers, Mon-Khmers or Kambujas (Cambodians) are of Sino-Tibetan origin, and at the beginning of the Christian era had already occupied the Mekong and the Menam deltas as well as Southern Burma......Śrutavarman, under whom Cambodia (Funan) seems to have become for the first time fully organised on the lines of Hindu civilisation, ruled about 400 A. D. He was followed by other Kings, direct descendants, having the Pallava patronymic Varman. This was a Lunar Dynasty. p. 180.

"The Indianesque, pre-Khmer (Indo-Khmer of some authors) art of Funan in the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries differs radically from the classic Khmer of the 9th to the 12th centuries chiefly in its greater concentration and more definitely Indian character. Bilingual inscriptions of the South Indian (Pallava) script revealing a knowledge of the Vedas, Purāṇas, & Epics appear. The Sanskrit is very correct, the lettering magnificent. Buddhist iufluences seem to have predominated in the 5th, Brahminical in the 6th and 7th centuries, but neither exclusively.

"After the 7th century the Chinese begin to speak of Chen-la rather than Funan. The history of the 7th and 8th centuries is obscure. This much is clear, that it was a period of unrest and continuous warfare, and here lies the explanation of the absence of monuments and rarity of inscriptions. The name Khmer (...........) likewise appears. At the same time Funan or Chen-la was apparently subject in some degree to Java (Śrīvijaya.)

"The best explanation of these facts and of the artistic revolution revealed in the 9th century is to be found in the view that Chen-la was originally a northern kingdom...and that here lived the Kambujas (born of Kambu) the legendary founder (with the nymph Mera) of the Cambodian Solar Dynasty; the wars of the 8th century resulting in the establishment of Khmer autonomy, the original Chen-la of the land and the former becoming the Chen-la of the sea.......

"Purely Indian Art in Cambodia disappears just at the time when permanent building materials which are quite exceptional before the classic period are first found......Classic Khmer

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1. Notes illustrative of the features of art are taken from A. K. Coomaraswamy : *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* ; London 1927.

architecture seems to be derived mainly from northern indigenous wooden types. There is no direct continuity with the old Indianesque of the South. We must not forget too, that other than Indian sources of culture, the Chinese above all were always available to Cambodia as well as to China ; the appearance of glazed tiles, etc., Classic Khmer rejects the characteristic Pallava motifs, the makara, a case in point.......

Mythology and cult on the other hand remained Indian in all essentials, though not without special local developments. Śaivaism at first predominates, later on with an increasing mixture of Tāntric Mahāyāna Buddhism, but specific dedications are to be found in all reigns and almost all the deities of the Hindu and the Mahāyāna Pantheon are represented. Two cults must be specially referred to. The first the deification of royal ancestors, identified after death with the deity of their allegiance under corresponding posthumous names, their images, in the outward forms of these same deities were set up by their descendants in memorial temples, but so far as we know, were always in human form; that temples were sometimes specially erected for this purpose is indicated in Bhāsa's Pratimānāṭaka where the scene is laid in a temple of royal images in Ayodhyā. The building of Angkor Thom and its central temple the Bayon belongs to the last quarter of the 9th century. All the great buildings of Angkor Thom construction period were Brahminical.

With Angkor Vat the history of Cambodian Art is almost at an end. To the 13th and 14th centuries however are to be attributed a good number of Buddhist sculptures. By the 15th century Angkor Thom was deserted. The second series of inscriptions in Angkor Vat introduce us to a compartively modern world of Hīnayāna Buddhism, the survivals of ancient Brahminism being traceable in the sacerdotal functions of a group of descendants of Brahmins still exercised......

"On the other hand theatre (dramatic dances) music and minor arts (textiles, metal works, jewellery) have survived almost in their former perfection to the persent day.

THE VĀRTIKAS.

BY

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A., (HONS). MADRAS.

Before we proceed to deal with what could be gathered from the Vārtikas, we have to draw attention to the fact, noted by each and every scholar that ever wrote upon Sanskrit Grammar, that the Vārtikas as commented on by Patañjali do not form part of a single work of a single author. The subject has been elaborately treated by Dr. F. Kielhorn, the illustrious editor of the Mahābhāṣya in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, in a series of articles contributed to the Indian Antiquary.

As all of us know, tradition ascribes the authorship of the Vārtikas to one Kātyāyana alias Vararuci. As already noted above, it conflicts with truth as the Mahābhāṣya contains commentaries upon Vārtikas and verses of various authors. And it is a matter of common knowledge that it is very difficult to identify the authors of the Vārtikas or to distinguish them from one another. Though we may not be able to clear the mystery about the subject, we would like to draw attention to some references which afford scope for further research on the subject. One of such striking and attractive references is this :—(Mahābhāṣya Vol. I, P. 371 Bom. S. S.).

न वा वचनप्रामाण्यात् ॥ (Vārtika)

And Patañjali has the following comments on it :—

न ब्रूमो वृत्तिसूत्रवचनप्रामाण्यादिति । किं तर्हि? वार्तिकवचन-
प्रामाण्यादिति । सिद्धं तु काङ्क्षतिदुर्गतिवचनात् । प्रादयः क्तार्थे ॥

That the above extract is a Vārtika could be inferred from the way Patañjali proceeds to comment upon it ; and that this Vārtika belongs to Kātyāyana is borne out by the fact that it is not introduced with words like अपर आह, as usual with Patañjali, whenever he introduces the opinions of other Vārtikakāras than the one he is commenting upon. So it may be inferred without any doubt that the author of the particular Vārtika

Kātyāyana, is referring to the वचन of some other author as the deciding authority on the point. And Patañjali says clearly in so many words that this वचन does not refer to the वृत्तिसूत्रवचन but that it refers to the वचन of the Vārtika. In this connection it is necessary to say something about the phrase वृत्तिसूत्र. Nāgeśa comments upon it thus :—(P. 345, Vol. II, N. S. Edition).

वार्तिकेष्वपि सूत्रलक्षणसत्त्वेनार्षत्वे च सूत्रत्वमभ्युपगम्य, पाणिनिसूत्राणां वृत्तिसद्भावाद्वार्तिकानां तदभावाच्च तयोर्वैषम्यबोधनायेदम् । वृत्तियुक्तं सूत्रं वृत्तिसूत्रमित्यर्थः । क्वचित्तु वृत्तिः सूत्रेति पाठः, सूत्रप्रामाण्याद्वृत्तिरिति न ब्रूमः, किं तर्हि ? वार्तिकप्रामाण्यादितीत्यर्थः ॥

From the above passage it could be understood that Nāgeśa points out another reading of the phrase वृत्तिसूत्र according to which the Bhāṣya passage would read thus :—

न ब्रूमो वृत्तिः, सूत्रवचनप्रामाण्यादिति ।

Here we have to understand the word वृत्ति to mean समास consistently with the Bhāṣya on the Vārtika,

न वा वचनप्रामाण्यात् ।

which begins thus :—

वचनप्रामाण्यादत्र समासो भविष्यति ।

This latter reading does not appear to be appropriate in the context. It is to be noted that the word वृत्ति has been hitherto used by Patañjali in the sense of परार्थाभिधान and he does not explicitly use it in the sense of समास ; and especially in this subsection on the particular Vārtika, having used the word समास it is highly improbable that he should have used another word for it. Further, the style in which he discusses the question and begins the reply shows that the word वृत्ति could not have been used in the sense of समास . We are however alive to the fact that there is no absurdity in meaning if we take the word वृत्ति in the sense of समास here. But we have to note that there are similar references which support the reading वृत्तिसूत्र as against understanding the word वृत्ति in the sense of समास. Under II-2-24 the following passage occurs :—(P. 424, Vol. I, Bom. S. S.)

केचित्तावदाहुर्यद्वृत्तिसूत्रे इति ।

Further, under IV-2-60 Patañjali gives the formation वार्तिकसूत्रिक (P. 284, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.) as derived from a word having सूत्र for its last word, and meaning a work. So much so, we must not only conclude that the reading वृत्तिसूत्र without the visarga is the correct one but also that Patañjali calls the Aṣṭādhyāyī by the name of वृत्तिसूत्र. That the Aṣṭādhyāyī was known by the name of वृत्तिसूत्र is also corroborated by a reference to it by the Chinese traveller, I-tsing, who lived in India from 671 to 691 A. D. mentioned by Dr. Śriś Chandra Chakravartī, on page 8 of his introduction to his edition of the Kāśikāvivaraṇapañcikā of Jinendrabuddhi in the Varendra Research Society Series :—'Next there is a commentary on the वृत्तिसूत्र entitled 'cūrṇi'.

It remains for us to consider how the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini came to be called by the name of वृत्तिसूत्र. Nāgeśa explains it as वृत्तियुक्तं सूत्रं and on that ground he differentiates it from the Vārtika. The ordinary meaning of the term वृत्ति is gloss. But how does Nāgeśa differentiate the सूत्र from the Vārtika ? Though it seems to be absurd it is really not so. It might be that Pāṇini, realising that his sūtras would be unintelligible without a gloss, might have written a gloss on his own sūtras, with the result that his work came to be designated as वृत्तिसूत्र. And unless we understand the phrase वृत्तिसूत्र in that light as explained by Nāgeśa, it would be meaningless. Further, the exact meaning of the word वृत्ति, as explained by Haradatta is, that gloss which has the explanation of the sūtras as its main object (सूत्रार्थप्रधाना वृत्तिः). It may be also noted here that the author of the Kāśikā perhaps had in his mind this वृत्ति when he wrote the benedictory verse :—

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु ।

Returning to the subject, the phrase वचनप्रामाण्यात् as interpreted by the Bhāṣyakāra presupposes another Vārtikakāra as the deciding authority on the question. But this is not the only instance where such a reference is made. Under the sūtra II-2-24 (P. 424, Vol. I, Bom. S. S.) the following passage occurs :—

अपर आहुः 'यद्वार्तिके' इति

where the Vārtika कर्मवचनेनाप्रथमायाः is referred to as that of some other Vārtikakāra. That it is of some other Vārtikakāra could be clearly understood from what Kaiyaṭa says (P. 452, Vol. II, N. S. Edition.). So, the conclusion forces itself upon us that the Vārtikas upon which Patañjali is traditionally supposed to have written his Bhāṣya is preceded by another Vārtikakāra who is cited as authority. That this should have been the fact could be understood by a reference to the comments of Patañjali on the Vārtika to the Sūtra लट् स्मे (III-2-118). The Vārtika runs thus:—(P. 121, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.)

स्म पुरा भूतमात्रे न स्म पुराद्यतने ।

This Vārtika could be divided into two parts, affirmative and negative. It should be noted here that in the negative portion of the Vārtika the mention of the word स्म पुरा is unnecessary, as we could arrive at the desired meaning without its mention thus :—

स्म पुरा भूतमात्रे नाद्यतने च ।

Further, the negative portion of the Vārtika seems only to be a commentary of the affirmative part of it. Kaiyaṭa opines that the above is made up of two Vārtikas and Patañjali establishes the redundancy of the negative portion. Kaiyaṭa says :—(P. 131, Benares Edition III. Adhyāya)

इत आरभ्य पञ्चसूत्र्या कालविभागप्रतिपादनाय वार्तिकद्वयम् ॥

And Patañjali says :—

स्मादिविधिः पुरान्तो यद्यविशेषेण किं कृतं भवति ।

न स्म पुराद्यतन इति ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह ॥

The above remarks of Patañjali do show that he would rather not have the latter bit at all. So also Kaiyaṭa says :—

लट् स्मे, अपरोक्षे च, पुरि लुङ् चास्मे इत्येतेषु योगेषु अनद्यतनग्रहणानुवृत्त्येष्टस्यार्थस्य सिद्धत्वान्न स्म पुराद्यतन इति वार्तिकं न कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । (*ibid*).

Further, the way in which Patañjali disposes of the latter bit is strange. If the two bits form part of one and the same Vārtika, it is usual for him to point out how it is enough to retain one portion, and refer to the consequent redundancy of the other. Here of course, as Kaiyaṭa points out, he treats them

as two Vārtikas and proceeds to comment on them from that standpoint.

The unusual way in which Patañjali disposes of the latter bit, together with the fact that it is redundant and forms only a negative implication of the previous bit, could be taken to suggest that the two Vārtikas should be of different authorship. Though this is only by way of conjecture, it finds support from the words of Patañjali himself, who refers to the author of the redundant Vārtika without any honorific. It need not be pointed out that it is the custom with him to refer to the author of the Vārtikas as भगवान् वार्तिककारः. Strangely enough, he refers to the negative Vārtika thus—कात्यायनेनेह, without any honorific. So, to put the conjecture in the form of a definite proposition, we may conclude that Patañjali knows of two Vārtikakāras, of whom the latter one modelled his Vārtikas in such a way that neither could be distinguished.

As we know from the reference by Patañjali himself that one of the two Vārtikakāras is Kātyāyana, it remains for us to consider whether we could find out who the other Vārtikakāra might be. Under IV-2-65, Patañjali gives the illustration माहावार्तिक in the sense of one who has studied the work called महावार्तिक. Sanskrit Literary History knows of no tradition as to the existence of a work called महावार्तिक. In Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, available only in manuscriptform in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library the following Vārtika is referred to (P. 45, M. O. L.Vol. I, I-39-52) as that of the Mahāvārtikakāra.

ननु द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोरुत्तरपदे नित्यसमासवचनमिति महावार्तिककारः ।

This is identical with the Vārtika on P. 395, of the Mahābhāṣya—Vol. I, Bombay Sanskrit series Edition. So, it is evident that there should have been a work called the महावार्तिक prior to the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana.

Further, Patañjali enlightens us as to the name of the author of the Mahāvārtika. Under III-2-3 he has the following संग्रहश्लोकाः —verses which give in a brief and versified form what has been elaborately discussed. (P. 97, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.)

नित्यं प्रसारणं ह्वो यद्बार्णादाङ्गं न पूर्वत्वम् ।
योऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वस्तत्कार्ये स्थानिमत्वं हि ॥

प्रोवाच भगवान्कात्यः तेनासिद्धिर्यणस्तु ते ।
आतः को लिण्नैङः पूर्वः सिद्ध आह्वस्तथा सति ॥

Nāgeśa comments upon the above verses thus :—(Mahābhāṣya-pradīpoddyota, Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. IV, P. 502.

यतोऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वत्वे स्थानिवत्त्वमतो भगवान्कात्यायनः। प्रसारणिभ्यो डं प्रोवाचेत्यर्थः ।

From the above words of Nāgeśa, we can understand that the syntactical object of the finite verb प्रोवाच in the first half of the second verse in its unabridged from is the first Vārtika under the sūtra III-2-3 (P. 96, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.) :—

कविधौ सर्वत्र सम्प्रसारणिभ्यो डः ।

Thus it naturally follows that Patañjali knows that the author of the above Vārtika is Bhagavān Kātya. Thus we see that the author of the Mahāvārtikas should have been Kātya.

In this connection, another Vārtika deserves our attention. (P. 557, Vol. II, N. S. Edition)

अन्नवधकगात्रविचक्षाणजिराद्यर्थम् ।

The last bit of this has been commented upon by Kaiyaṭa thus :—

अजिरशिशिरेति निपातनमनपेक्ष्यैतदुक्तम् ।

and by Nāgeśa thus :—

तेषां सूत्राणामाधुनिकत्वादनपेक्षेति भावः ।

The words अजिरशिशिरेति of Kaiyaṭa refer to the Uṇādi Sūtra अजिरशिशिरशिथिलस्थिरस्फिरस्थविरखदिराः (I-56). Both Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa mean that, from the point of view of the author of the Vārtika above referred to, the Uṇādi sūtras like the above are of so recent origin as could be neglected without any notice. Now let us consider the tradition recorded by an unknown author of the commentary on the Kṛt portion of the Kātantra in the opening verse—

वृक्षादिवदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कुतः ।
कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टाः विबुद्धिप्रतिपत्तये ॥

as to Kātyāyana being the author of the Kṛt suffi xes (the Uṇādis). This is corroborated by Vimalasarasvatī in his Rūpamālā, (Manuscript deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, P. 178) in the following words,

उणादिस्फुटीकरणाय वररुचिना पृथगेव सूत्राणि कृतानि ।

From this we must infer that the author of the Vārtika, above referred to, should be unaware of the Uṇādis compiled by Kātyāyana alias Vararuci. To put it in other words, the particular Vārtika under discussion is not of Kātyāyana's authorship ; and it goes without saying from the above discussion that it should be a Mahāvārtika of Kātya.

We have seen from the above discussion that the Vārtikas relied on as authority and quoted by Patañjali under the Vārtika न वा वचनप्रामाण्यात, the first Vārtika to the sūtra III-2-3, the Vārtika under II-1-51 referred to by Bhoja, and the Vārtika referred to above—all these belong to Kātya and form what are called the Mahāvārtikas. And we have but to conclude that Patañjali considers Kātya alone as *The Vārtikakāra.* And perhaps, the *Mahābhāṣya* was so called because of its being a commentary on the *Mahāvārtikas.*

That there was a famous author by the name of Kātya is also corroborated by Kṣīrasvāmin in the course of his commentary on the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana. He quotes abundantly from a work of Kātya, a lexicon probably. Curiously enough, we find a half verse quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra identical with the one quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary :—(Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Pat. II, Page 375).

गौरिवाक्रतनीशारं प्रायेण शिशिरीकृतम् ।

But we find a different reading adopted by one and all of the grammarians, from the Bhāṣyakāra downwards. Vide Mahābhāṣya P. 147, Vol. II, Bom. S. S.

गौरिवाकृतनीभारः प्रायेण शिशिरे कृशाः ।

The latter reading seems to be accurate as the word नीभार is said to be of masculine gender by the author of the Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana *(ibid).* Kṣīrasvāmin quotes the sentence as from a work called लभ्यम्. Sanskrit literary tradition attributes many works to the authorship of Vararuci, identified with the author of the Vārtikas on the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, one of which, it needs no saying, is a lexicon. Perhaps this author of the Vārtikas might have written a lexicon, which had the object of explaining the meanings of forms that might be explained through the Aṣṭādhyāyī and this work might have been designated लभ्य ; and probably. Patañjali was quoting from this work.

It remains for us to consider the extent of Kātyāyanas's contribution, as the traditional author of the Vārtikas. In the course of his commentary, the Bhāṣyakāra refers to certain other Vārtikas as those of the Kroṣṭīyas, of the Saunāgas, and those of the Bhāradvājas. The way in which Patañjali quotes them and disposes of them gives rise to the impression that each of such Vārtikas represents a school, and as such we have to take Kātyāyana also as representing a school ; but with the difference that he was a close follower of the Mahāvārtikakāra school, of which Patañjali himself seems to be an advocate. And perhaps that is the reason why Patañjali comments upon the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana also without any distinction. Further, Kātyāyana modelled his Vārtikas in such a way that it would be very difficult to distinguish them from the Mahāvārtikas, with the result that he came to be credited with the authorship of all the Vārtikas by later writers.

With regard to the Vārtika schools above mentioned, we are able to distinguish four such schools besides that of Kātyāyana ; and they are क्रोष्टीय, भारद्वाज, सौनाग and सौर्यभगवत ॥

It is to be noted that the first school is mentioned only once. Patañjali introduces it as suggesting an alternative interpretation of the Sūtra इको गुणवृद्धी (I-1-3) and dismisses it as useless. Neither Kaiyaṭa, nor Nāgeśa, throws any further light on the Vārtika.

We are tempted to suggest that the second of the schools above mentioned might be taken to represent the school of the grammarian Bhāradwāja referred to by Pāṇini himself in the sūtra ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य (VII-2-63) from the resemblance in the two names.

With regard to the Saunāgas' school we can say definitely that they were later than the Mahāvārtikakāra. Patañjali introduces their Vārtika thus :—(p. 416, Vol. I, Bom. S. S.)

एतदेव सौनागैर्विस्तरतरकेण पठितम् ॥

From the above passage, it is clear that, in the opinion of Patañjali, the Saunāga Vārtika is only a comprehensive rendering of the Mahāvārtika on the point.

There is a single reference to the Vārtika of the fourth school ; and that too is stated as quoted by one वाडव thus :— (P. 421, Vol. III, Bom. S. S.)

सौर्यभगवतोक्तंमनिष्टिज्ञो वाडवः पठति ॥

The phrase अनिष्टिज्ञः of Patañjali as qualifying वाडव gives room to the inference that, in the opinion of Patañjali, this वाडव is ignorant of the इष्टि. From this we can conclude as a matter of course that the author of the Vārtika तत्रायथेष्टप्रसंगः (*Ibid*),—Sauryabhagavata, was not for having a चतुर्मात्रः प्लुतः. And वाडव also seems to concur with him in his view.

This reference to वाडव leads us on to the consideration of some other names also mentioned by Patañjali. There are also two references to the views of one कुणरवाडव, one on P. 100, Vol. III, Bom. S. S. and the other on P. 317, Vol. III, Bom. S. S. We venture to identify this Kuṇaravāḍava with Vāḍava above referred to, the latter being an abbreviated form of the former, as such abbreviated references are not uncommon in Sanskrit Literature. From the references by Patañjali, we can gather that this Kuṇaravāḍava should have been a commentator like himself, with the difference that he belonged to a different school. That there were such commentators earlier to, and contemporaneous with Patañjali could also be inferred from his references to the opinions of other Ācāryas like Gonardīya, Goṇikāputra and Pauṣkarasādi.

To recapitulate, we can try to briefly trace the History of Sanskrit Grammar after Pāṇini thus. Vyāḍi seems to have been the first author to give a poetical rendering of what was enunciated by his cousin sage in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and its Vṛtti, in a work called Saṅgraha, containing about one hundred thousand ślokas. Next in the line comes our Mahāvārtikakāra, Kātya, who critically supplemented the deficiencies of Aṣṭādhyāyī so as to keep pace with the growth of Sanskrit Language. His work seems to have given scope for different interpretations which resulted in the formation of different schools. And Kātyāyana might have represented that school of grammar, closely allied to the Mahāvārtikakāra's, while the other schools would not accept wholly the views of Kātya. And Patañjali was the last representative of the Mahāvārtikakāra school.

TIRUVĒṄKAṬANĀTHAR OF MĀTAI.

BY

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Introduction.—Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthar the subject of this sketch was a contemporary of the Madura Naicks of the later 17th century. He was one of those few who were not only poets in themselves but also patrons of Tamil learning in his time.

Sources.—A complete account of his life is not available from any single source. The main source is the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu which seems to have got into print 64 years ago, and a manuscript copy of which is found in the Madura Tamil Saṅgam. Its author is unknown, but it is clear that he was a native of the Pāṇḍya country,[1] and an object of Tiruvēṇkaṭa's benevolent patronage[2]. This work gives many details about the latter which must be considered very valuable as they constitute contemporary and first-hand information. But it is defective in two ways: First it is the work of a protege who has every reason to eulogise his patron. This lessens considerably its judicial value, but a cautious use of similar materials has enabled historians to arrive at truth. Secondly it is so void of dates that we have to seek the help of the historian. The historian of the Naick rule in Madura is, therefore, our second source[3]. Other sources that throw light on Tiruvēṅkaṭa's life are his work Meyññāṉa-viḷakkam, otherwise known as Prabōdhacandrōdayam, and the preface to the Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam of his contemporary Vaidyanātha Dēcikar. The light thrown by these works on the materials drawn from the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu enables us to arrive at a fairly accurate degree of information with regard to his life.

Birth-place.—The birth-place of Tiruvēṅkaṭa can be determined as Mātai from the following lines: 'மாதை வெங்கடேசன்'[4],

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1. 'தாய்த்துணைபோ லெங்கள் தமிழ்ப்பாண்டி நாடாள
வாய்த்தவெங்கடேச மகிபாலன்' (பணவிடு. 65).
2. 'முத்தமிழ்வா ணர்க்குள் முழுநோக்க மென்னிடத்தில்
வைத்தவெங்க டேச மகிபாலன்' (பணவிடு. 67).
3. Nelson author of 'The Madura Country'.
4. பணவிடு. (கண்ணி, 88, 36).

'மாதை யாதிபன் . . . திருவேங்கடநாதன்[1], 'மாதை வெங்கடேசான்,[2]. This place is identified with the hamlet and Śiva shrine of Tiruvāmāttūr near Villupuram in the district of South Arcot, since the Tiruvāmāttūr-k-kalampakam by the twin-poets (Iraṭṭiyār) is also styled Mātai-k-kalampakam and mentions the place as Mātai[3].

Ancestry.—With regard to Tiruvēṅkaṭa's ancestors the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu enlightens us on the following points: He was the second of six sons of Perumāḷ Iyer[4], a Smārta Brahmin. Their names are given in the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu in this order: Kṛṣṇa Iyer, Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha Iyer, Maṇivaṇṇa-p-perumāḷ Iyer, Rājagōpāla Iyer, Kanakasabhāpati Iyer and Veṅkaṭarāma Iyer. Tradition says that Tiruvēṅkaṭa's ancestors belonged to the Kāṇyāḷa sect and that they had served the old Naick Kings of the Pāṇḍya and Cōḻa Kingdoms in high administrative capacities.

Early life.—Of Tiruvēṅkaṭa's early life we know very little. But we can safely infer that he ought to have shown high abilities since he was chosen as a minister[5] at Madura by the Naick King. The king then was Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Vīrappa who ascended the throne in 1682. Coming at an early age to govern the country threatened by foreign foes and internecine feuds, he needed the help of faithful and able men and so chose Tiruvēṅkaṭa.

Ministry at Madura.—Tiruvēṅkaṭa's administration was, among other causes, removing for removing abuses in the system of government. The Paṇaviṭu-tūtu gives a graphic

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1. இலக்கணவிளக்கம். பாயிரம்.
2. மடிக்காசு : தனிப்பாடல்.
3. மேதிக் குலஞ்சொரி பால்கயன் மாந்தும் விரைப்பழன மாதைக் கடவுள் (திருவாமாத். கலம்.)
4. பெருமாண் மெய்த்தவப் பேறெனத் தோன்றிய (இலக். வி. பாயி.) திருமால் . . .
5. சொக்கநா தேந்த்ர தாந்த்ரிகன்—முக்யமுள்ள
   * * * ராசரிக,
   முத்ரைபெற்ற ரங்ககிருஷ்ண முத்துவீ ரேந்த்ரானருள்
   வைத்த கொற்ற வாசலுக்கோர் மந்திரியாய், (பணவிடு. 61-63),

account of his rule[1]. The minister seems to have presided over several details of administration. The court business of the day comprised the hearing of appeals, the settlement of accounts, the receipt of tributes and the despatch of envoys. Consequently many were the people that waited in audience. These were councillors, envoys of neighbour princes, ministers, generals, readers of daily and general accounts, and wealthy merchants with their messages, petitions or tributes. The Paṇaviṭu-tūtu mentions Tiruvēṅkaṭa's judicious care in collecting tributes from refractory poligars, his skill in handling finance, his keen and sensible suggestions regarding administration, his arrangements for irrigation and the development of agriculture, his supervision of temple-management, his fixing a scale in the payment of tributes according to the wealth and status of his neighbours, his reproof of the proud and encouragement of the humble, and his arduous work for the moral and social welfare of his subjects a practical instance of which was seen in the diminution of house-tax. It is said that Tiruvēṅkaṭa became acquainted with the affairs of government with regard to Travancore known then as

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1. தேசவிவ காரம் செகத்திலுள்ள செய்தி துறை
வாசல் விவகார மற்றெவையும்—யோசனைசெய்
மந்திரி மாரு மறுமன்ன ரேவலரும்
தந்திரி மாரும் தளாதிபரும்—முந்தும்
தினசரிதக் காரர்களு மமைக் கணக்கங்
கனுதினம்வா சிக்கு மவரும்—கணமுடைய
வர்த்தகருங் குச்சாரு மாாட ருங்கொலுவில்
தத்தம் வரிசைகொடு தாநிற்ப—நித்தமொக்கச்
சாளிகை கட்டிவருந் தந்திரமும் பிந்திவரும்
பாளையக் காரர் பணங்களுக்கங்—காளனுப்பும்
வல்லமையுங் கேட்கும் வரியோலைக் குத்தரங்கள்
சொல்லுவதி லேநினைவின் சூக்குமமும்—எல்லைகண்டு
கூறப் படாத குளப்பாய்வுங் காற்பாய்வும்
ஏறப் பயிர்கொளுத்து மேற்பாடும்—பேறுதரும்
தேவா லயத்திற் றினப்பூசை தப்பாமல்
தேவா ளனுப்பும் விசாரிப்பும்—நேர்வாகக்
காணிக்கைக் காரர் கணக்குக்கேட் டவ்வலர்தி
ராணிக்குத் தக்கதிட்டஞ் செய்வதுவும்—பாணித்துச்
செய்யு நயபயமுஞ் சேருஞ் சனங்களுக்கென்
னையன் புரியும் அறவணைப்பும்—வையகத்தில்
மற்றொருவ ருக்கு வருமோ வாராதென்று

'Tiruvaṭi-tēcam'[1]. Travancore seems to have been under the sphere of influence, if not the direct control, of the Madura Kingdom.

Viceroyalty at Tinnevelly—Occasion for it.—Some might say that the eloquent tribute by the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu is the eulogy of a court poet; but there must have been abilities in Tiruvēṅkaṭa and merit in his administration to elicit it. An exhibition and confirmation of this followed. The Naick king sent his minister as viceroy of the distant and outlying province of Tinnevelly when it was in a State of disorder and needed a strong hand. The need for able officers is borne out by Nelson[2].

Probable date.—Tiruvēṅkaṭa must have assumed viceroyalty in 1683, for an inscription [3] of that date mentions the grant of certain lands to the temple at Tinnevelly in the name of Raṅga-Kṛṣṇa-Muttu-Vīrappa Naicker and Tiruvēṅgināthayyar[4]. He must have been appointed about 1683 and in this case his stay at Madura must have been of very short duration—Since he became minister after Raṅga Kṛṣṇa's accession *i. e.*, 1682.

கொற்றவரெல் லாமெடுத்துக் கொண்டாட—முற்றும்
திருவடி தேசமொரு செங்கோல் செலுத்தும்
பருவமெல்லா நன்ருப் பழகி—ஒருமுகங்கொண்
டட்டவணை யிட்டதுபோ லத்தனையுந் தானிருந்து
சட்டமிடு கின்ற சமுகத்தான்'
* * * மொத்தக்
கணக்கைவகை கண்டு கற்பித்த பேர்க்குப்
பணக்குறைவா ராமற் பணித்து—
* * * —போடுகின்ற
வீட்டுவரி யெப்பொழுதா வேண்டா மென நிறுத்தி'

(பணவிடு. 18-46)

1. So called from 'Tiruvaṭi', a title of Travancore Kings. (No. 6 of Appendix A, Mad. Ep. Rep. 1906, p. 6, Ep. 1891.)

2. The Madura Country. Part III, Pp. 146.

3. C. P. No. 167 of Mr. Sewell's List : Records a Sale date by the Chief of Vannikūḍam in the Tinnevelly district of certain lands to the Tinnevelly temple. The name of the Chief is not mentioned. But it is stated that the Sale was undertaken in order to increase the merit (puṇṇiyattu-k-kāka) of Raṅga Kṛṣṇa Muttu Vīrappa Nāyakka (1682-9) and Tiruvēṅkinātha Aiyar. The Kollam Āṇḍu 858 is given, and the year Durmukhi. (I M. P. III, 304, M.)

4. A Corruption of ' Tiruvēṅkaṭanāthaiyar. There is a village in the Tinnevelly District called Tiruvēṅkaṭanallūr. Perhaps this and the vicinity is the place referred to.

His Court.—The Paṇaviṭu-tūtu gives a picturesque account of his rule and Court. It mentions the palace Raṅgavilās[1] where political affairs were transacted ; the splendid palanquin and paraphernalia bestowed by Raṅga-Kṛṣṇa-Muttu-Vīrēndra ; and the processions that resembled Lord Kubera's. It compares the court to that of King Bhoja with advantage to the former.[2]

The account given by the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu is confirmed by Chronicles[3] that 'ascribe high status and large powers to the governor of Tinevelly' in the time of Raṅga Kṛṣṇa. Nelson says, "The manuscripts translated by Mr. Taylor in the O. H. Mss. styled 'The reign of Raṅgakṛṣṇa Nāyakkan' shows clearly how great was the authority exercised by this officer and how sumptuous the style in which he lived."[4]

His work there—Patronage of Letters.—While Tiruvēṅkaṭa was the viceroy he rendered important services to Tamil Literature. He patronised Tamil scholars and poets. One of them, the author of the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu has been mentioned already. Another was Vaidyanātha Dēcikar of Tiruvārūr whose scholarship was admired by many learned men of the day including the eminent Tamil and Sanskrit Scholar, Svāminātha Dēcikar[5] of

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1. Mentioned in inscriptions as the audience-hall of the Kings of Vijayanagar and other Kings.

2. பூதலத்தை ஏகசக்ர மாப்புரக்கும் ராஜதா னிக்கிணங்கும்
பாகுபெற்ற நெல்வேலிப் பட்டணத்தில்—ஓகையுடன்
மேலா மாமனைக்குண் மேவிக் கொலுவிருந்து
மாலை புகுந்து வரும்வேளை . . . ரங்க கிருஷ்ண
முத்துவீ ரேந்த்ரன் முழுவரிசை தந்தனுப்புங்
கொத்து மணித் தண்டிகைமேற் கொண்டேறிச்—சித்தம்
விரும்பியள கேசன்போல் வீதிவலம் வந்து
திரும்பி யாமனைக்குட்சென்று- பெரும் பார்க்
கிறையவனெங் கோமா னிரங்கவிலா சத்தே
நிரைகொலுவாய் வீற்றிருக்கு நேரம்—நறைமலர்ப்பூங்
கொத்தலர்தார் மார்பன் கொலுவிருக்குஞ் சிங்கார
மத்தனையுங் கண்டே னகங்குளிர்ந்தேன்—மெத்தமெத்தப்
போசன் சமுகம் பொலிவென்பார் மாதைவெங்க
டேசன் சமுகத்துக்கீடாமோ' (பணவிடு. 69—86).

3. The Chronicles translated by, the Rev. W. Taylor in the O. H. Mss. 2 Vols. 1835.

4. The Madura Country Part III, p. 147.

5. 'நூல்செய் தவனந் நூற்குரை யெழுதல்
முறையே யேனிலே யறையக் கேள்நீ

the Tiruvāvaṭuturai mutt, author of the Ilakkaṇa-k-kottu. With the help of Vaidyanātha Dēcikar Tiruvēṅkaṭa realised his cherished desire of publishing an up-to-date and comprehensive Tamil grammar written by a Hindu. The grammar then in vogue was the Naṉṉūl written by the Jain author Pavaṇanti under the patronage of Śīyagaṅga (13th century) and dealing with only two divisions of Tamil grammar (i.e.) phonology and accidence. Tiruvēṅkaṭa realised the necessity and asked Vaidyanātha to write a comprehensive treatise. The latter consequently made a critical study of Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl and wrote the Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam. In this work he takes in *sūtras* found in both writers always preferring Tolkāppiyaṉār's *sūtras* where both Tolkāppiyaṉār and Naṉṉūlār agree, and incorporating the improvements made by Naṉṉūlār if they are found satisfactory. Since in this work he deals with all the five divisions of Tamil grammar it is generally Known as *Kuṭṭi-t-tolkāppiyam*. Tiruvēṅkaṭa's part in this is brought out by some verses in the preface written by Sadāśiva Nāvalar, the son and disciple of Vaidyanātha.[1]

End of his rule—probable date.—How long Tiruvēṅkaṭa ruled as viceroy or what his subsequent career was is a subject for future research. Raṅga Kṛṣṇa died in 1689 and his mother Maṅgammāḷ became regent for his minor son Vijaya Raṅga Cokkanātha. There are indications to show that he must have reigned as late as the year 1700. Since it is said that the Tinne-

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முன்பின் பலரே யென்கண் காணத்
திருவா ரூரிற் றிருக்கூட் டத்திற்
தமிழிக்கிலக் காகிய வயித்திய நாதன்
இலக்கண விளக்கம் வகுத்துரை யெழுதினன் '
(இலக்கணக்கொத்து. பாயி. 7, உரை).

1. வேதியர் திலகன் விரவலர் கோளரி
மாதைய ரதிபன் வரகுண மேரு
கல்விக் கெல்லை கருணைக் காகரம்
பெருமாண் மெய்த்தவப் பேறெனத் தோன்றிய
திருமா லுலகஞ் செவ்விதிற் புரக்கும்
மேதகு புகழ்த்திரு வேங்கட நாதன்
ஓதின னாக வுவகைமீதூர
* * * * * *
இலக்கண விளக்கமென் றொருபெயர் நிறீஇ
புலப்படுத் தியலுறப் பொருள்விரித் துரைத்தனன்
நலம்புரி வைத்திய நாததே சிகனே (இலக். வி. பாயி.)

velly coast was infested with tigers in 1700[1], and since Tiruvēṅkaṭa rescued people travelling through jungles[2], we may infer that he must have ruled at that time. It is probable that he laid down his office about the time of Maṅagammāḷ's resignation ; but this is only a conjecture based on the general fact that a revolution in the central government results in changes elsewhere.

Character a general estimate.—The estimate given of Tiruvēṅkaṭa by his contemporaries is that of a gracious and pure personality profuse in his charities, liberal in his sentiments, munificent in his patronage, courteous in his deportment, impartial in his verdicts and free from life's allurements.[3]

To the seeker of historical truth the united testimony of two authors[4] is peculiarly valuable, for it is too unnatural a coincidence to suppose that both of them were prepossessed partisans writing a groundless panegyric. Their statements confirm each other and encourage acceptance. Many tributes poetical in themselves must have been prompted by qualities of high preeminence. The poet Paṭikkācu has made Tiruvēṅkaṭa's

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1. The Madura Country III. p. 226. Nelson refers to Jesuit Letters, but does not mention any name. (The Letter of, Father Martin to Father to Gobien, written from Camien-nakan-path, 1st June, 1700 Say's : ' These beasts (tigers) have made a surprising house on the whole coast this year. Besides the cattle, about seventy persons have disappeared ? Hist. of the Nāyaks of Mad. p. 301).

2. 'காட்டுவழிச் செல்வாரைக் காப்பாற்றி (பணவிடு. 46.)

3. ' * * * விம்பமணிக்
கங்கணமு மேற்போர் கலிகளெல்லாந் தீர்ப்பனென்ற
கங்கணமு நீங்காக் காதலத்தான்—சங்கையுள்ள
வெஞ்சொற் களைந்து கல்விமேலோ ரெடுத்தியம்புஞ்
வெஞ்சொலுகந்த திருச் செவியான்—விஞ்சுபெருங்
கல்விக் கடலனையான் கண்டோர் பசிதீர்க்குஞ்
செல்வக் கருணைத் திருமுகத்தான்—மெல்லப்
புடை பரந்த தெள்ளமிர்தம் போற் கருணைவெள்ளங்
கடைபரந்த செங்கமலக் கண்ணன்—புடைசென்
றடுத்திட்ட பேர்க்கு மயலார்க்கு முண்மை
நடுத்திட்ட மேயுரைக்கு நாவான்— * * *
* * * * —நீங்கா
இடும்பைக் கொடுங்கலித்தீர்த் தெண்ணில் பலகோடி
குடும்பப் பிரதிஷ்டை செய்த கோமான்' (பணவிடு. 9-15.)

4. The author of the Paṇaviṭutūtu and Sadāśiva Nāvalar.

magnanimity a type and object of comparison[1], and this testifies to the powerful impression he must have made over his generation.

Religious view.—Some verses[2] in the Paṇaviṭu-tūtu, his invocation to Śrī Kṛṣṇa at the commencement of the Meyññāṉa-viḷakkam, and his use of a seal with the name 'Gopāla' engraved on it[3] clearly show that he, imbued with the highest principles of Advaitic thought, was a staunch devotee of Kṛṣṇa. His singular detachment from life and its allurements in spite of his many activities is a theme of constant mention ; his purity and serenity are shown by two stanzas in the preface to his Prabodha-candrodayam[4]. He is described in one, as being detached and unsullied as water on the lotus leaf; and in the other as resembling the kingly sage Janaka amidst all his relations and friends.

Works.—His views are embodied in his work Meyññāṉa-viḷakkam written in obedience to the orders of his master Rāghavānanda Paramahaṁsa. It is an adaptation from Kṛṣṇa Miśra's Sanskrit drama—Prabodha-candrodaya cast in the form of an epic narration. Tiruvēṅkaṭa is said to have composed two works, one Tamil and the other Sanskrit. The Tamil work is known as Meyññāṉa-viḷakkam. Unfortunately nothing is known

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1. 'எல்லப்ப னம்மையப்பன் தருதிருவேங் கடநாத னெழிற்சீ ராமன்
வல்லக்கொண் டையன் மாதை வேங்கடே சுரன்போல வரிசை செய்தே
செல்வத்தம் பியருடனே கத்தூரி மகன்கருப்பன் தெருவீ திக்கே
பல்லக்குத் தான்சுமந்தா னதுநமக்கோ ராயிரம்பொன் பரிசு தானே.' (தனிப்பாடல்.)

2. 'கோபாலன் செம்பொ னடி வணங்குஞ் சென்னியான்' (பணவிடு.)

3. 'நீதிபெறு முத்ரை நிருபம்கோ பாலனென
ஆதிமுத லொப்பமிடு மாணையான்' (பணவிடு.)

4. 'மேயபற் பலதுறை மேற்கொண் டெய்ப்பினும்
ஏயவில் வாழ்க்கையி லிருந்து மன்னதிற்
பாயுநன் மதுமலர்ப் பதுமப் பாசடைத்
தூயதன் புனலெனத் தோய்ந்துந் தோய்ந்திலான்'.
'மனையறம் பூண்டுநல் வாழ்வின் வைகியும்
அனையபல் கிளைஞரோ டளவ ளாவியும்
நனியுல களித்துமெய்ஞ் ஞான மெய்திய
சனகனைப் போலிருந் தருளுந் தன்மையான்'.

of his Sanskrit work. The Tamil version consists of 2012 *viruttam* stanzas and is divided into 48 chapters. It explains lucidly the doctrines of Advaita. It teaches the characteristics of such phenomena as Brahman ; Māyā ; mind ; attachment and renunciation ; delusion and selfishness; the endless combinations and complexities that are brought about by the interplay of the guṇas or fundamental characteristics of man; the changes wrought by passions; the value of mental and moral equilibrium in life; the impossibility of comprehending aright the Gītā and the Upaniṣads without mental stability and the resultant capacity for right reasoning; the nature of religions like the Lokāyatika— and a refutation of their doctrines; the indispensable necessity of logic to understand the truths of Advaita; the marks and attributes of systems of thought like Mīmāṁsā; the central and conclusive teachings of Vedānta etc. The way in which these things are expressed entitles the work to a high rank in Tamil Literature. It is not unusual for poets to take their ideas from other works and infuse into them new life. Tiruvēṅkaṭa did the same. From whatever view-point we may approach his work, language, rhythm, grandeur of meaning or choice of expression, we have nothing but praise for it. This work has a beautiful preface of 28 stanzas whose authorship is obscure. As is usual with the great, Tiruvēṅkaṭa was so modest as to have his work perused by the grammarian Vaidyanātha Dēcikar.

Tiruvēṅkaṭa seems to have written another work known as Jñānasōpānam. This work is popular with our womanhood because it conveys Vedāntic truths in an easy and elegant style. The following is the last stanza of the work as found in the manuscript deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

வேதியன் மாதைப் பெருமாள் குமாரன்
வேந்தர் தொழும் திருவேங்கட நாதையன்
போதகச் சோபானப் பாடல் படித்தோர்
. . . . பேரின்பம் பெற்று வாழ்வார்'.

Conclusion.—Tiruvēṅkaṭa, as is seen in the foregoing pages, was a statesman, poet, patron, and above all a true Advaitin like Janaka. He offers an interesting comparison to the famous Govinda Dīkṣita the eminent scholar, poet and minister of Raghunātha Naick, of Tanjore. I cannot conclude better than by quoting these lines written by a contemporary.

ஜோதத் தமிழ்க்கும் வட்கலைக்கும்
புலவோர் தமக்குப் பொருள்விரித்துச்
சீதைக் கிறவ னெனநீதிச்
செங்கோல் செலுத்தித் திசைபுரந்து
வேதப் பனுவன் மெய்ஞ்ஞான
விளக்கா லுலகை விளக்குமெங்கள்
மாதைத் திருவேங் கடநாத
மறையோன் வாழி வாழியவே.

MANORATHA—A POET.

By

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Ānandavardhana in his Dhvanyāloka refers in the following terms to the verse of an author, who is made out to be, on the authority of Abhinavagupta, a contemporary of Ānandavardhana. The passage runs thus :—

तथा चान्येन कृत एवात्र श्लोकः

यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु किञ्चन मनःप्रह्लादि सालङ्कृति
व्युत्पन्नै रचितं च नैव वचनैर्वक्रोक्तिशून्यं च यत् ।
काव्यं तद्ध्वनिना समन्वितमिति प्रीत्या प्रशंसञ्जडो
नो विद्मोऽभिदधाति किं सुमतिना पृष्टः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः ॥

Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the above passage remarks as follows :—

तथा चान्येनेति—ग्रन्थकृत्समानकालभाविनैव मनोरथनाम्ना कविना ।

Abhinavagupta clearly indicates that the poet Manoratha is a contemporary of Ānandavardhana. We know of a Manoratha in the Chronicles of Kashmir, as a contemporary of Vāmana and others. This Manoratha seems to have been the same as Kalhaṇa's Manoratha. There is no difficulty in this identification as some scholars have stated in their works. Dr. De in the first volume of his Sanskrit Poetics makes the following observations (pages 112-114) regarding the poet known as Manoratha, a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, the author of the *Dhvanyāloka* :—

" Jacobi maintains that this unknown Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of Manoratha who is placed by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (IV 497 and 671) in the reign of Jayāpīḍa and his successor Lalitāpīḍa (i.e.,) in the first part of the 9th Century (780—813 A.D.). But there are difficulties which seriously stand in the way . . . . Abhinavagupta in his gloss remarks—तथा चान्येनेति--ग्रन्थकृत्समानकालभाविना मनोरथनाम्ना कविना। If we suppose that by the ग्रन्थकृत् Abhinavagupta means Ānandavardhana,

then Manoratha, who is made a contemporary of the latter, lives in middle or second part of the 9th century (i. e.,) some what later than the date assigned to him by Kalhaṇa, presuming, of course, that both the Manorathas are identical persons. If, on the other hand, we suppose that ग्रन्थकृत् refers, as Jacobi conjectures, to the anonymous Dhvanikāra we are confronted with the fresh difficulty that by the term ग्रन्थकृत् Abhinavagupta invariably means Ānandavardhana (pp. 12, 37, 90 etc.). To remove this difficulty we must suppose

(1) That Kalhaṇa is wrong as Pischel argues in assigning Manoratha to the reign of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa.

(2) That the two Manorathas were not identical persons.

(3) That Abhinavagupta himself has confused the Kārikākāra with the Vṛttikāra, in a manner not usual with him. As there are no definite means of deciding any one of these equally plausible propositions, the conjecture that the original Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of the Manoratha of Kalhaṇa cannot be taken to have been definitely proved.

" It seems on the other hand that the Kārikās date back to an earlier time than the first quarter of the 9th Century, in which the Dhvanikāra is placed by Jacobi as a contemporary of Manoratha. The allusion to Manoratha and the apparent discrepancy in Kalhaṇa's statement need not trouble us, nor need we challenge the otherwise trustworthy testimony of Abhinavagupta ; or it is quite reasonable to suppose that the Manoratha under discussion is perhaps a poet who was, Abhinavagupta says, contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana and therefore quite a different person from the well-known Manoratha of Kalhaṇa. This is perhaps a much simpler explanation than straining the word ग्रन्थकृत् to mean the Kārikākāra in the face of Abhinavagupta's own distinct indication to the contrary; and in this way we are not affected in the least by Kalhaṇa's Manoratha with whom we have nothing to do."

It is clear from the passage quoted above how Prof. Jacobi, Pischel and Dr. De argue from different view-points regarding the date of Manoratha. Jacobi would make Manoratha the contemporary of the 'anonymous Dhvanikāra' Pischel would accuse Kalhaṇa of having recorded a wrong information by placing Manoratha in the reigns of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa.

मनोरथः शङ्खदत्तः चटकस्सन्धिमांस्तथा ।
बभूवुः कवयस्तस्य वामनाद्याश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥ ४९७ ॥

Dr. De would conveniently dismiss the whole thing on the assumption that the Manoratha of Kalhaṇa is altogether different from the Manoratha who, on the authority of Abhinavagupta, might have been a contemporary of Ānandavardhana.

Professor Jacobi has been labouring under the mistaken notion that Ānandavardhana is different from the author of the Dhvanikārikās. Dr. K. A. Śaṅkaran and myself have elsewhere shown definitely that Ānandavardhana is the author of the Dhvanikārikās as well as the *vṛtti* on the strength of a statement made by Abhinavagupta in his Abhinavabhāratī, a commentary on the Nāṭya-Śāstra of Bharatamuni. When thus the apparent distinction between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra falls to the ground, the assumption of Prof. Jacobi, that Manoratha was the contemporary of the mythical Dhvanikāra, shares the same fate. Dr. De is right when he points to the difficulty in taking the word ग्रन्थकृत् to mean the anonymous Dhvanikāra.

Pischel's argument cannot be answered. Kalhaṇa is ahead of us by 6 or 7 centuries and he writes with a full and authenticated knowledge of the traditions and chronology of the people whom he was treating in his history. We are not warranted in finding fault with such early writers only because we are not able to arrive at definite results. If all possible alternatives fail, then we can, with reluctance say that he might have been wrong. In the present instance, we are confronted with two statements, (one of Abhinavagupta and the other of Kalhaṇa) which appear to be irreconcilable. Are they really so—is the question. To me it seems that the statements of Abhinavagupta and Kalhaṇa may be reconciled with one another. Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions Manoratha as a *poet* in the reign of Jayāpīḍa which will be (776-807 A. D.) according to the calculations of Prof. Sten Konow. The same Manoratha is said to have been raised to the rank of a minister in the reign of Lalitāpīḍa (807-819 A. D.) and that he resigned his seat in the cabinet because of the misdeeds of the King Lalitāpīḍa. Kalhaṇa says.

मानी मनोरथो मन्त्री परं परिजहार तम् ।
अशक्नुवन् यमयितुं मध्यपातपराङ्मुखः ॥ ६७१ ॥

Ānandavardhana was patronised by Avantivarman who ruled between 855 and 884 A. D. The statement of Abhinavagupta that Manoratha, who flourished in the reigns of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa (776-819 A. D.), was a contemporary of Ānandavardhana who flourished in the reign of Avantivarman (855-884) jars in their ears, because they have probably assumed that Manoratha was born in 776 A. D. and died in 819 A. D. Jacobi admits that Kalhaṇa is correct and that Abhinavagupta is doubly right. Abhinavagupta says only ग्रन्थकृत् and by that he meant only the author of the Dhvanikārikās and not Ānandavadhana. Jacobi adduces this argument to prove that the author of the Dhvanikārikās flurished between 776 and 819 A.D.

Pischel accepts the statement of Abhinavagupta and discards that of Kalhaṇa.

It needs only to be pointed out that Manoratha was not born in 776 A. D. and died in 816 A. D. Jayāpīḍa's reign in which he flourished as a poet comes to a close in 807 A. D. Assuming that the king patronised Manoratha for some years before his death, he might have been about 30 years of age about 807 A. D. He ought to have entered public life and retired from it between 807 and 819, (i.e.,) before his 42nd year he should have given up politics. After that period he lived the life of a retired official probably till he was 70 or 75 years old. He might have even lived when Avantivarman came to the throne or died a few years earlier. The Dhvanyāloka seems to have been the production of the mature genius of the author. It seems to have been the last of his works, for we find the author referring to almost all his other works in the Dhvanyāloka. So Ānandavardhana should have written the Dhvanyāloka when he was at least 45 years old or even 50. Assuming that he wrote in the middle of the reign of Avantivarman who patronised him, Ānandavardhana would have been at least 30 years old when Avantivarman came the throne. This will make Ānandavardhana a younger contemporary of Manoratha. So we need not interpret ग्रन्थकृत् to mean the Kārikākāra nor need we accuse Kalhaṇa of having given a wrong information. There is therefore no need to distinguish the Manoratha of Kalhaṇa from the Manoratha of Abhinavagupta. They might have very well been identical with each other and contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana.

PLOSIVES IN DRAVIDIAN.

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.,

ERNAKULAM.

Though Dravidian is, next to Indo-Aryan, the most important language-group in India possessing an indepedent culture[1] not much inferior to the Indo-Aryan and rightly claiming an indubitably great past history which has yet to be vastly explored, little or no attention is paid today to the study of its philology. Admirable and scholarly as the monumental work of Caldwell (published about half a century ago) may be, much of its contents needs modification and revision in the light of modern linguistic research. It is to be hoped that, on the one hand, the labours of European scholars of Dravidian, like Professors F. Otto, Schrader, and Jules Bloch, and, on the other, the new-born interest in linguistics evidenced in India by the organisation of research departments in the Universities would be productive of beneficial results in the field of Dravidian Philology.

I propose in this article to deal with the forms and variations of the important class of sounds called Plosives as they appear in Dravidian, the changes they undergo in combinations and further with the general laws underlying these changes. I shall draw my illustrations from, and confine my observations to, the four more promiment Dravidian languages (*i. e.* Tamil, Telugu, Malayāḷam and Kanarese).

The plosives (so called because in their articulation the exit of the current of expiration of air occurs with an explosion resulting from the removal of a temporary stoppage in one of the super-glottal passages) have been analysed and classified with remarkable nicety by recent phoneticians. There are two distinct movements involved in the articulation of plosives :[2] i. the formation of the stoppage and ii. the removal of the same. The

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1. See Prof : Sunīti Kumār Chatterji's recent work on "The origin and Development of the Bengālī Language" (Calcutta University) pages, 40-42.

2 See Otto Jesperson's "Elementarbuch Der Phonetik" page 90.

former of these entails a certain amount of muscular tension of the vocal organs, which varies with the nature of the sound. Before the science of phonetics had made the enormous progress that it has to-day, it was the practice to classify the plosives only in a broad manner according as they were tenues and mediae on the one hand, and on the other, according as they differed in the place of sound-production and in the organs coming into play. Recent progress in the science of phonetics has discovered new and more subtle distinctions based on the degree of muscular tension involved in the sound-production and the degree of vibration of the vocal chords. As these distinctions are important in the study of Dravidian plosives, we shall briefly refer to them here. Generally speaking, these factors, namely, the degree of muscluar tension and the degree of vibration of the vocal chords almost always go together in inverse proportion, though exceptional cases might arise [1].

Prof. Jesperson has arranged the series [2] as follows :—

(1) *Strongly aspirated tenues*, where the vocal chords are widest apart, the air-stream from the lungs gathers behind the stoppage so strongly that a violent explosion is heard on the stoppage being removed. Muscular tension is at its maximum here. Vocal chords remain without vibration for a short interval after the explosion.

(2) *Weakly aspirated tenues* differ from the above only in that the vocal chords begin to vibrate for the succeeding sound much sooner than in the above variety.

(3) *Sharp tenues* where there is no interval at all after the explosion and before the vocal chords begin to vibrate for the succeeding sound. Almost a metallic clang is heard in the production of this sound.

(4) *Voiceless mediae* where the vocal chords remaining much closer than for (3) above, still do not vibrate, and further the muscular tension is much lower.

(6) *Half-voiced mediae* differ from (4) above only in that the muscular tension is a little lower still, and the vocal chords begin to vibrate slightly before the explosion.

(6) *Pure mediae* where the muscular tension is at its minimum and the vocal chords do not cease to vibrate at all.

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1. See Otto Jesperson's " Elementarbuch Der Phonetik " page 90.
2. *Ibid.* pages 85, 90.

It has been thought hitherto that Dravidian plosives belong to the two broad varieties namely tenues and mediae only ; but as a matter of fact examples of all the above mentioned six varieties occur in Dravidian.

Class 1 is represented in the doubled or long plosives occurring in the roots on words *e. g.*,

Tamil: poṭṭu (mark) ; pattu (ten); coppu (small box) ;
Telugu : prakka (near) ; nippu (fire) ; natti (stammer) ;
Malayāḷam : viṭṭə (having left) ; cakka (jack-fruit) ; tatta (parrot).

Class 2 is found in the sounds of "doubled" or long plosives occurring initially in the second component of Samāsas in Tamil and Malayāḷam, *e. g.*,

Tamil : Kāṭṭuppuli (forest tiger) ; vīṭṭuttaṉḍəi (oldman of the house).

Malayāḷam : Ōṭippōi (ran away) mēśakkāl (leg of table)

Class 3 is heard in initial plosives in all the Dravidian dialects and in intervocal plosives in Malayāḷam and Telugu. The metalic clang, characteristic of the French sounds, is absent in the Dravidian, however.

Initial.	*Intervocal*
Tamil : kāppel (ship)	Tel : paluku (word).
Tel : kāni (but).	Mal : cāṭi (jumped).
Mal : kaṭel (sea).	
Can : tumbitu (filled).	

Class 4 *i. e.*, the voiceless mediae are very common intervocally in Malayāḷam colloquial. Indeed careful malayāḷam speakers give this value to all intervocal plosives and often to nasal plosive combinations also *e. g.*, Mal. kuḍil (hut) ; vaṇḍi (Cart) ; kuṇḍə (pit) ; paṉḏe (ball) ; paṇḍə (ago) etc.

Class 5 is a variety of sound often heard in Malayāḷam nasal plosive combinations, *e. g.*, ceṇḍa (drum) ; eṅgil (if) etc.

Class 6 is the value given to all Tamil intervocal plosives and to all Tamil plosives in combination with nasals (both being represented in spelling by the Symbols for surds). Further, initial Telugu surds assume this value when they are immediately preceded by words with final vowels of the *Druta* class.

A broad classification of the Dravidian plosives, according to the place of sound production and to the vocal organs coming into play would stand thus :—

Lip with Teeth	Teeth with blade of Tongue	Uppergums with tip of Tongue	Palate		
			Front	Middle	Back.
p,b	t,d	t,d.	k,j,c	ṭ,ḍ	k,g

I shall briefly comment on the characteristics of these Dravidian sounds :

(1) [*t*] [*d*] : Alveolar sounds with tip of tongue touching the upper gums. These are found in Tamil and Malayāḷam only and even here only doubled or in combination. Tamil A + R gives rise to ṭṭP or ṭṭr as in the causative of māRu—māttRu

(2) [t] [d] have much the same value ordinarily in Dravidian as in Sanskrit. Intervocally they tend, often in rapid speaking, to assume the values of fricatives, *e. g.*, Mal. vātil is pronounced often vāthil. In Sanskrit words like *ātman*, *patmanābhan* [t] is adopted with the value of [1] in Malayāḷam, as in *ālmāvə*, *palpanābhən*.

This has been ascribed to the influence of the Vedic pronunciation of final Indo-Aryan [t] as [1], which was popularised in Malayāḷam-speaking areas by the Nambūdiris. See *poste.*

(3) [ṭ] and [ḍ] : These cerebral plosives, along with other linguals are very characteristic of Dravidian. It has been postulated by Grierson and StenKonow that the Indo-Aryan borrowed these sounds from Dravidian. In native Tamil and Malayāḷam words these sounds never occur initially, while in Telugu and Canarese by a process of regressive assimilation, initial surds have assumed the values of sonants. *e.g.*,

Telugu—	*Tamil.*
(hump) gu:nu—	ku:nu
(bunch) gola	Koləi.

(4) [k] and [g] : These are very unstable sounds except initially or when doubled, in all the four Dravidian languages. Intervocally they tend to become fricatives in Malayāḷam and Tamil. Their instability is evident in changes like the following illustrated from Malayāḷm, *e. g.*, makən > maxən > mahən > Maəən > mə̄n.

(5) [p] and [b] are not unstable usually, but in the colloquial have turned into [m] and [v] occasionally as in Tamil pāpu appearing in Canarese as pāvu, and in the Malayāḷam alternative forms Kāṇbān, Kāṇmān and Kāṇuvān.

(6) [kj] and [gj] are palatal varieties of [k] and [g] being the values assumed by the latter in the proximty of palatal vowels *e. g.*, Tamil vāḻəkkkāji (plantain) ; vaigie (River Vaigai).

(7) [ch] and [j] : These are not plosives as their classification in native grammars would lead us to think but these are really affricates. The theory of the affricates has only been recently propounded.

We shall next consider a peculiar law regarding plosives described by Caldwell as specially Dravidian and prominently seen in Tamil. This law styled by Caldwell as " The convertibility of surds and sonants" is stated by him thus on page 138 of his work :—k, t, ṭ, p, the first unaspirated consonants of the 1st, 3rd, 4th and 5th Vargas are always pronounced as surds (*i. e.*, as k, t, ṭ, p.) at the beginnings of words and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i. e.*, as g, d, ḍ, b) when single in the middle of words... ......and so imperative is this law, and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from surds to sonants or *vice versa* according to their position. *e. g.*, *danta*, Sans. *a tooth* becomes in Tamil " *tandam*". Caldwell further says that " there are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all Dravidian dialects ; but it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayāḷam".

The law is certainly true of Tamil in all its aspects as shown by the following instances :—Kūḍu (cage) ; vīḍu (house) śādəm (cooked rice) ; gōbālən (Gopāl) , śaṅgərən (Śaṅkara) etc.

We have however to examine if the law is in any way so characteristic of all the other Dravidian dialects as to be described as distinctively Dravidian, as Caldwell seems to suggest.

It is true that in the representation of the inter-vocal plosives of many words in Telugu and Canarese which have corresponding forms in Tamil, the spelling shows the sonant variety as for instance in Telugu idi (this), pāḍu (ruin),poga (smoke) corresponding to similar Tamil forms with surd symbols to represent

sonants, but at the same time there are numerous words in Telugu and Canarese where the inter-vocal surds, as shown by the pronunciation and by the phonetic spelling, retain their purity. Indeed the number of such native words containing pure inter-vocal surds is so large in these languages as to exclude altogether the possibility of any general law of convertibility as in Tamil.

Telugu :—kōṭa (fortress) ; pāṭu (song) etc.
Canarese ;—kūtu koḷḷiri (sit down) ; tilitu etc.

With regard to those forms in Telugu and Canarese which show by their spelling and pronunciation the sonant variety as distinct from the corresponding Tamil forms which give the surd symbols but the sonant sounds, the explanation is easy. There is a law applicable (in varying degree) to all groups of languages that when a surd occurs inter-vocally the sonority of the vowels is partially or wholly shared by the surd itself which consequently tends to become sonant. The history of many languages illustrates this, *e. g.*, in many old English words and also in the development of the Romance languages from late Satin.

We see therefore that the help of a distinctive Dravidian law need not be invoked for explaining the change of surds into sonants in Telugu and Canarese. That such a Dravidian law does not exist is further shown by the presence in Telugu and Canarese of numerous words with pure inter-vocal surds.

Then we come to Malayāḷam. Gundert, Kittel and Caldwell have all maintained the existence of the law of convertibility in Malayāḷam exactly as in Tamil.

Two circumstances seem to have coloured their judgment in this matter :—(i) the close relationship that exists between Tamil and Malayāḷam has led them to ignore the actual pronunciation of Malayāḷam at the present day as distinct from that of Tamil. (ii) Dr. Gundert who was undoubtedly a great Malayāḷam scholar made his observations of Malayāḷam sounds from amongst the natives of North Malabar who do not talk pure Malayāḷam.

Let us consider the actual facts regarding the enunciation of Malayāḷam inter-vocal plosives in the Cochin State, the central portion of the Malayāḷam-speaking area where the pronunciation has been admittedly recognised as the purest *i. e.*, free from the Canarese influence of the North and the Tamil influence of the South : (i) in the Malayāḷam literary dialect the inter-vocal surds

are pronounced with *entire* purity. When books are read or discourses delivered, the surds have the value either of class II or of class III described above. (ii) In the colloquial among the cultured classes the intervocal surds do not become *pure mediae* but assume the values of *voiceless mediae i. e.,* class IV described above. (iii) In the colloquial of the lowest classes where purity of pronunciation is hardly cared for and where elisions, contraction and holophrastic changes are extremely common, not only intervocal surds but initial surds also become sonants.

From the above, it is clear that the "language-consciousness" of the Malayāḷam-speaking native does not admit of any such law of convertibility as Tamil. Spelling only confirms this view. Unlike the Tamil alphabet, and like the Telugu and Canarese alphabets, the Malayāḷam alphabet has symbols for both surds and sonants, and inter-vocal surds are all represented by the symbols for surds only. If the values of the inter-vocal plosives had been only sonant at the time when the Sanskrit alphabet was taken over by Malayāḷam, it is at least strange why the Malayāḷīs who are noted for their linguistic precision and exactness, did not represent the sonant sounds with sonant symbols. The only explanation possible is that the surds had not the value of sononts at the time of the adoption of the Sanskrit alphabet *i. e.,* some time about or before 1000 A. D.

Historical grounds also strongly support such a view. In a paper contributed by Prof. Bloch to the "Indian Antiquary"[1], he has demonstrated, on the strength of a passage from the writings of an 11th century Sanskrit author Kumārila Bhaṭṭa who quotes a number of presumably Tamil words with pure intervocal surds in them, that the sonantisation of inter-vocal surds in modern Tamil could have arisen only about 1200 A. D. Here is a fact, then, which definitely stands against the theory that seeks to identify Mal. & Tamil in reference to this law of convertibility, for we know beyond a doubt that Malayāḷam branched off from the parent Tamil Language about 1000 A. D. [2]

One other factor should also have contributed greatly to preserving the pure value of surds in Malayāḷam. The influence of Sanskrit language and Literature on Malayāḷam has been from the earliest times, more powerful than on any other Dravidian lan-

1. Vol. XLVIII 1919 pages 191-195.
2. See Rāja Rāja Varma's " KĀRAḶA PĀṆINĪYAM.

guage. Though no definite evidence exists as to when this influence began to be felt in Malabar, it is clear that it should have been operating from a period considerably anterior to the time of Sanskrit influence in other parts of the Dravidian speaking areas. This is evident from the fact that the Nambūdiri Brahmins who carried Sanskrit knowledge into Malabar preserved customs (known as anācārams) which are peculiar to themselves and which definitely mark them off from the Brahmins of other parts of South India. Further, the peculiar Vedic values which these Nambūdiris give to Sanskrit sounds [ṭ] and [t,] as [ḷ] and [l] respectively lead one to suspect that the Nambūdiri advent to Malabar may date back to a very early period indeed, possibly to the Vedic era itself. Any way the cumulative value of these facts points to the existence of a very early Sanskrit influence in Malabar. Such a long standing and predominant influence exerted by Sanskrit over Malayāḷam should certainly have counteracted any little tendency that might have existed in Malayāḷam to convert intervocal surds into sonants. And hence we see that even the few changes that have occurred in Telugu and Canarese (in obedience, be it noted, not to any distinctive law but to the universal linguistic principle of the change of surds into sonants when surrounded by sonorous sounds like vowels) are absent completely in the Malayāḷam literary dialect.

We have therefore to conclude that the law of covertiblity stated by Caldwell is (i) not distinctively Dravidian, in view especially of the presence of pure inter-vocal surds in Telugu, Canarese and Malayāḷam, and (2) purely applicable to modern Tamil only and not to Malayāḷam which branched off from ancient Tamil about 1000 A. D.

I shall end this article with a few remarks about the values of Dravidian conjunct consonants formed of nasals and plosives. These combinations *i. e.*, nasals plus plosives form a characteristic feature of the Dravidian system of sounds, though all other consonant combinations are carefully avoided by native Dravidian. The conjunct nasal *plus* plosive combinations that occur in Dravidian ñch, ñj, ṅk and ṅg, n̲t and n̲d, ṇṭ and ṇḍ, mp and mb.

In Tamil though the spellings as usual show the surds, the values of the plosives are entirely sonants. In Telugu and Canarese numerous combinations of nasals and surds with pure

surd values are found, e. g., Tel. iṇṭì (in the house); eṇṭu (eight); chen̲tra (nearness) ; Can. uṇṭu (exists) ; ban̲tu (Came) etc.

In Malayāḷam there is a conflict of tendencies : on the one hand, the frequency and predominance, in Malayāḷam, of nasals tend to sonantise the surds occurring in nasal combinations, and on the other the influence of Sanskrit pulls in the reverse way and works towards the retention of the purity of the surds for all surds in combination with nasals. So much so that both pronunciations are heard even amongst the cultured classes of people. In careful and deliberate utterance they either preserve the purity of surds entirely or give them the value of voiceless mediae, while in the colloquial half-sonant or completely sonant values are given *e.* g.,

Malayāḷam Conjunct (nasal and plosive) sounds when Carefully uttered	*Same in rapid. Colloquial* :
en̲tā (what)	en̲ḍā or en̲dā
paṅkə (share)	paṅgə or paṅgə
chan̲ta (market)	chan̲ḍa or chan̲da.
pāmpə (snake)	pāmbə or pāmbə.

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DATE OF PERIYĀḶVĀR

By

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I have gone through the article on "The Contemporaries of Periyāḻvār" by M. R. Ry. K. G. Śaṅkar Avl., B.A., B.L., which appeared in Volume I Part IV of the Journal of Oriental Research wherein he has criticised my article on 'The Life of Śrī Āṇḍāḷ' which appeared in Volume I Part II of the same Journal. The age of Āḻvārs is freely discussed in my Tamil work 'ஆழ்வார்கள் காலநிலை' which is issued in parts in *Tamiḻar-nēśan*, Madras, of which I am the Honorary Editor. Since I wanted to invite criticisms on the Life of Śrī Āṇḍāḷ in particular, I wrote the article on the same and I heartily thank Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar, for his criticisms.

On careful scrutiny, the only point of difference between us is that he ascribes Śrī Āṇḍāḷ to 9th century while I place her in the 8th century. His decision is based only on the mention of the name Śrīmāṟa Śrīvallabhaṉ as a Pāṇḍya king who ruled before 862 A. D. The same point engaged my attention many a time but I had to give it up for many strong reasons. The 9th century date as given by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar does not suit us for the following (1) astronomical, (2) historical and (3) traditional reasons.

Astronomical.—*Mārkaḻi Nōṉpu* as mentioned by Śrī Āṇḍāḷ in Her *Tiruppāvai* must have taken place on the full-moon day in the month of *Mārkaḻi* and the same is mentioned as *Tainīrāṭal* in Śaṅgam works; for the full-moon day following the new-moon day in the month of Mārkaḻi is taken to be the full-moon day in the *lunar* month of *Tai.*[1] Hence, it must fall only in the latter half of the same month (Mārkaḻi). The position of the planets at the time when Śrī Āṇḍāḷ celebrated the same festival is mentioned by

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1. Vide my article "Tai-nīrāṭal or Mārkaḻi-nōnpu" in the *Śen-Tamil* (Vol. XX).

her and the date when such could have occurred is clearly 731, the reasons for which I have already stated in my previous article. I am glad to mention that Mr. K.G. Śaṅkar has admitted that 731 is one of the dates when such a thing could have occurred. But, he opines that 850 is another date for the same and it suits better than 731, since 850 happens to be during the reign of Śrīmāra—Śrī Vallabhan̲. On this, I requested Mr. S. Sōmasundara Dēśikar of the Tamil Lexicon Office to verify when the full-moon day as mentioned by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar, in the year 850 falls and he writes to me that it does not fall in the month of Mārkal̲i, but on the 30th of Kārttikai. This cannot be the full-moon day in the lunar month of *Tai*, when alone it could have been celebrated. Of the six possible dates mentioned by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar, he himself has admitted that the other four are unsuited. Since 850 too does not suit us now, 731 is the only possible date.

HISTORICAL.—The latter half of the 8th century which I have ascribed to Śrī Āṇḍāḷ is the period when both the northern and southern part of Tamil̲akam was in the hands of staunch Vaiṣṇavite Kings. The most powerful of them were Pallava Mallan̲ of the Pallava dynasty and Parāntaka Neḍuñcaḍaiyan̲ of the Pāṇḍyan̲ dynasty. That Parāntakan̲ had the name of Śrī Vallabhan̲ also has been clearly proved on stronger grounds than those of mine by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar himself. Hence, this Śrī Vallabhan̲ must be the same as Śrī Vallabhan̲ mentioned in Guruparamparai as a disciple of Periyāl̲vār. So is it not better to take this Śrī Vallabhan̲ of the 8th century who is proved to have been a Vaiṣṇavite in Madras Museum Plates than Śrī Vallabhan̲ of the 9th century mentioned by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar of whom it is not known from inscriptions whether he was a Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite ?

The statement " குருசரிதங் கொண்டாடி " in the same plates has been interpreted by Mr. Veṅkayya as ' having followed the footsteps of his ancestor '. The same is referred to by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar : this would have been very appropriate if *anucrarittu* were in the place of *kon̲ṭāṭi*. 'கொண்டாடி' evidently means ' having celebrated or adored 'and not ' having followed '. Hence if we take " குருசரிதங் கொண்டாடி " to mean ' having adored the deeds of his preceptor', it can well fit in since it is mentioned in *Manudharma-śāstra* as one of the duties of kings. Here, we may note with satisfaction the parallel statement in a *taniyan* of Periyāl̲vār as "பாண்டியன் கொண்டாடப் பட்டர்பிரான் வந்தானென்று".

Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says that, since Śrīvallabhan̲ or Parāntakan̲ mentioned by me came to the throne in 770 A. D. and Neḍumāṟan̲, his father who lived at the time of Śrī Āṇḍāḷ was a Śaivite, 731 is not a suitable date. He took him to be a Śaivite only on the strength of the statement found in Vēḷvikuḍi grant "பாண்டிக் கொடுமுடி சென்றெய்திப் பசுபதியதுபாதம் பணிந்தேத்தியும்". It seems to me that this decision is based on his present-day experience, that a Śaivite does not worship Viṣṇu nor a Vaiṣṇavite Śiva. But, do we not see even now that among Smārtas, there are some who are staunch devotees of either Śiva or Viṣṇu but at the same time pay their obeisance to both whenever there is any need for it. I hope the same was the case then with all people in general and with kings in particular. Otherwise, could it have been possible for Neḍumāṟan̲ to have under him Māṟaṅkāri a staunch Vaiṣṇavite as his minister and allow his own son to become staunch Vaiṣṇavite also? Hence, we cannot safely conclude only on the strength of the statement quoted above that he was a Śaivite. Besides the fact that kings in those days viewed with favour co-religionists and erected temples for their duties is evident from the Śaivite kings Kō-c-ceṅkaṇān̲ and Mahēndravarman̲ erecting temples to Viṣṇu and worshipping Him; and the Vaiṣṇavite kings Dantivarman̲ and Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rājā of later date erecting temples to Śiva and worshipping Him.

Hence, it seems to me that Neḍumāṟan̲ was a Vaiṣṇavite and Periyāḷvār was taken as a preceptor both by him (Neḍumāṟan̲) and his son (Śrī-Vallabhan̲ Parāntakan̲) and Śrī Āṇḍāḷ lived at the time of the former. The son was called Māṟan̲ Ceḍaiyan̲ or Māṟan̲ Vallabhan̲, which meant Vallabhan̲ the son of Māṟan̲ but, by some confusion latter day scholars took the whole to be his name without reference to that of his father.

Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says that Parāntakan̲ ought to have become a Vaiṣṇavite in his 17th year since an invocation to Śiva alone is found in an inscription written in his 3rd year. If that be the case, there should have been no invocation to Śiva in inscriptions after his 17th year. But, there is one in the Madras Museum Plates. Similarly, there are invocations to Śiva in the inscriptions of Pallava-mallan̲ though he was a Vaiṣṇavite. Hence, it is not safe to assume that a Vaiṣṇavite king would never invoke Śiva in his inscriptions. But, it seems to me that they used to invoke any one, two or all the *trimūrtis* and it depended, to a certain extent, on the author of the *praśastis*. Though Neḍumāṟan̲ might have

been a Śaiva at the beginning and become a Vaiṣṇavite later, yet his son, Parāntakan̲ should have been a Vaiṣṇava from his birth since he allowed his father's minister Mar̲an̲kāri to be his minister also and then his brother, both of whom were staunch Vaiṣṇavites.

From the arguments cited above with the help of ephigraphical records, I think it is safer to ascribe 8th century to Śrī Āṇḍāḷ, when there were Vaiṣṇavite kings than the 9th century, as done by Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar when there was a king Śrī Vallabhan̲ by name of whom whether he was a Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite, nothing is definitely known.

TRADITIONAL.—Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says that Nāthamunikaḷ the first Vaiṣṇava Ācārya received Tiruvāymoḻi from Nammāḻvār himself. If so, Perīyāḻvār, the contemporary of Nammāḻvār and his daughter Śri Āṇḍāḷ ought to have lived at his time. So, he (Nāthamunikaḷ) ought to have known them and also the history of Āṇḍāḷ and her merging into Raṅganātha. If so, he would surely have given expression to it with great wonder as a staunch devotee of Śrī Raṅganātha. Besides he would have gone to Śrīvilliputtūr, the native place of Periyāḻvār, on his way to Āḻvār-Tirunagari and given us all details about him. *Dīvyasūricaritam* which was written at the time of Śrī Rāmānuja the contemporary of Nāthamunikaḷ's grandson Āḷavantār and which almost gives all the details about Nāthamunikaḷ would never have failed to make mention of the wonderful life of Periyāḻvār and his daughter if they had lived at his time. But it definitely says that a long time elapsed between Āḻvārs and Nāthamunikaḷ.

It is said that Nāthamunikaḷ heard a fragment of Tiruvāymoḻi for a Vaiṣṇava way-farer who told him that the Āḻvār's works were not in vogue and so they could not be got anywhere except perhaps at Āḻvār Tirunagari. Had he lived at the time of the Āḻvārs, this would never have been the case. Hence some time must have elapsed between Āḻvārs and Nāthamunikaḷ.

But, Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar himself admits that Nāthamunikaḷ was expounding Tiruvāymoḻi before 883 A. D., the 3rd year of the Cōḷa King Āditya I. Guruparamparai says that he was born in 823 A. D. and went to Āḻvār Tirunagari with his elderly son to receive the Tiruvāymoḻi. He might have been about fifty at the time when he went there and might have been expounding Tiruvāymoḻi for ten years from 873 to 883. Hence, what is found in Guruparamparai about his birth is fairly correct.

If Periyāḻvār lived in the middle of the 9th century as Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says, he should have been a contemporary of Nāthamunikaḷ. The facts stated above may clearly show that it could not have been the case.

Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar says that Āḻvārs followed the path of devotion, Ācāryas the path of knowledge and so, they might have lived at the same time, as Kūrattāḻvār lived at the time of Śrī Rāmānuja. This is quite against the principles of Vaiṣṇavism. *Prapatti,* the most important feature of Vaiṣṇavism was first taught by the Āḻvārs and expounded by the Ācāryas. It is quite strange to hear that there was difference in their methods of devotion. Kūrattāḻvār is not at all recognised as an Āḻvār but is recognised as an Ācārya though he has the name of Āḻvār.

Hence, tradition also is totally against the views of Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar.

I have thus given here the salient points to meet the arguments of Mr. K. G. Śaṅkar. I request that other points may be cleared from my Tamil work *Āḻvārkaḷ-Kāla-nilai,* where I have dealt with everything in detail.

LITERARY NOTES.

I.

MAHODADHI AND MAHĀVRATA TWO OLD MĪMĀṄSAKAS.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M. A.

Librarian, Adyar Manuscripts Library, Madras.

The following verse occurring in the second act of Kṛṣṇamiśra's Prabodhacandrodaya is worthy of consideration from a historical point of view.

नैवाश्रावि गुरोर्मतं न विदितं कौमारिलं दर्शनं
तत्त्वज्ञानमहो न शारिकगिरां वाचस्पतेः का कथा ।
सूक्तं नापि महोदधेरधिगतं माहाव्रती नेक्षिता
सूक्ष्मा वस्तुविचारणा नृपशुभिः स्वस्थैः कथं स्थीयते ॥

Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata are mentioned in this verse along with such illustrious names as Prabhākara, Kumārila, Śālikanātha, and Vācaspati Miśra.

The commentator on the Prabodhacandrodaya, the author of the Candrikā, gives us some more information regarding these two writers (i.e.) Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata.

महोदधिर्नाम शारिकनामा [शालिकनाथ] सहब्रह्मचारी, गुरुमते निबन्धनकर्ता भवनाथवत् । ....

महाव्रतो नाम भट्टमतानुवर्ती **महोदधिप्रतिस्पर्धी**.........इदानीमाचार्यमते भवदेवमतस्य, गुरुमते भवनाथमतस्यैव प्राचुर्यमिति ग्रन्थकारैरनुल्लिखितमपि मतद्वयमस्माभिरुक्तम् ॥

Prabodhacandrodaya, Nirṇayasāgara Edition, p. 53.

These extracts give interesting information regarding these two authors. Mahodadhi is a follower and pupil of Prabhākara and he studied along with Śālikanātha. Mahāvrata is his contemporary and a follower of Kumārila and probably a pupil of

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa himself. Now Kṛṣṇamiśra belongs to the early part of the 11th century and consequently the tradition is in all probability genuine. Kṛṣṇamiśra might have had access to the works of Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata.

Though the commentator declares that the opinions of these two writers have not been cited anywhere, we come across a reference in Bhavanātha's Nayaviveka to both of them.

MAHODADHI.

महोदध्युक्तं सर्वं वृत्तौ निरस्तम् । तत्र किञ्चिद्वयज्यते । तेनोक्तं— साहचर्यात् स्मृत्यन्वित एवेति किल ज्ञातोखा स्मृता श्रुतमोदनं नाकाङ्क्षेदिति तदन्वयधीर्न स्यात् । किञ्चोखापदादुखार्थसम्बन्धिनोऽपि स्मृतेः तदन्विताभिधानं न स्यात् ॥

Nayaviveka. Tarkapāda. P. 108. G. O. Mss. Library Ms.
Ravideva in commenting upon the above passage remarks:—

महोदधिग्रन्थोक्तमन्विताभिधानदूषणं प्रकरण एव निवारितमिति न यत्नान्तरानिवर्त्यम् । तदभिप्रायविवरणार्थं किञ्चिदुच्यत इत्याह—महोदध्युक्तमिति ॥ स्मृतार्थप्रतियोगिकोऽन्वयः पदवाच्य इत्युपगम उखायामोदनं पचतीत्यत्र श्रुतान्वयो न स्यात् । पदसम्बन्धिनोऽन्वितस्यैव पदस्मार्यत्वात्, तस्य च निराकाङ्क्षत्वात्, सति चान्वये स्वसम्बन्धिनोऽर्थान्तरस्यापि स्मृत्यविशेषात् तदन्वयोऽपि स्यात् स्वार्थेनैव पदस्याविनाभावो न तदन्वयस्यार्थान्तरेणेति स्मृत्यसम्भवो न शङ्क्यः etc.

MAHAVRATA.

महाव्रतेनाम्रादन्यन्मधुरा शर्करेत्युदाहृत्य तिक्ता शर्करेत्यधिकमुक्तम्; [तन्न,] जानत एव मधुरां पित्तदुष्टजिह्वस्य तिक्तेत्यन्वयधीः अनुमात्मिका बाधिते न स्यात् । सन्निधिस्तु इन्द्रियसमशीलो बाधितेऽपि भ्रमयति इति युक्तमिति ।

Nayaviveka. Tarkapāda. P. 110. G. O. Mss. Library Ms.
Ravideva in commenting upon the above passage says :—

उदाहरणान्तरेऽर्थस्यैवासन्दिग्धमन्वयबोधकत्वं दृष्टमिति परोक्तमनुवदति महाव्रतेनाम्रादन्यदिति । शर्कराया मधुरस्वभावत्वं जानतोऽपि पित्तदोषात् तिक्ताशर्करेति धीर्भवति । सानुमानार्हेत्यर्थहेतुकैवेति दूषयति—तन्न, जानत एवेति ॥

Vivekatattavam, p. 547, Vol. I. Ms. of the Adyar Library. The above two extracts clearly support the statements of the author of the Candrikā.

Mahodadhi the pupil of Prabhākara and class-mate of Śālikanātha should belong to the 7th century A. D.

Mahāvrata, his intellectual opponent and follower of Kumārila, also belongs to the same period.

श्रीः

कालिदासीयं दर्शनम्

II

BY

VEDANTALANKARA

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स ईश्वरः सृष्ट्वेदं जगत् तत्राखिलं पदार्थजातमनुप्रविवेश । प्रविष्टस्य च, यस्तावदेको मणौ सूत्रगतिन्यायेन सर्वानुस्यूतोऽन्तर्यामिभावः, तत्स्वरूपान्वाख्याने दृढतरो महाकवेरादरबन्धस्समदर्शि नैकश्लोकोदाहरणेन पुरस्तात् । इदानीं तस्यैवान्यः प्रतिक्षेत्रं परिसमाप्तो जीवभावः कविभावगत्यनुगमनेन प्रकाश्यते । स्थितमेतदतीते प्रकरणे यथा—परस्तावदीश्वरोऽविप्लुतस्वमहिमा त्रिष्वपि कालेषु ; गुणसंसर्गकृतस्तस्य समस्तस्संसारसंव्यवहार इति । तत्र—

रसान्तराण्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोऽश्नुते ।
देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः ॥ र. १०. १७. ।

इति कविवचनमुदाहृतम् । भगवद्गीतास्वपि स्मर्यते—

पुरुषः प्रकृतिस्थो हि भुङ्क्ते प्रकृतिजान् गुणान् ।
कारणं गुणसङ्गोऽस्य सदसद्योनिजन्मसु ॥ गी. १३. २२. ।

अथ के ते गुणाः ? कथं वा पुरुषं निबध्नन्तीति यथाकविसम्मतमुपरिष्टात्प्रपञ्चयिष्यामः । शरीरभेदेषु व्यवस्थितस्स च जीवो यैः किलोपाधिभिः प्रतिबद्धोऽविद्वान् संसरति, यैर्विसृष्टबन्धो मुक्त इत्युच्यते, तान् प्राणवाक्चक्षुश्श्रोत्रमनआदीन् परिगणयति श्रुतिः "[1]प्राणन्नेव प्राणो नाम भवति, वदन् वाक्, पश्यंश्चक्षुः, शृण्वन् श्रोत्रं, मन्वानो मनः" इति । तदिह जीवस्वरूपं व्याचिख्यासता प्रथमं यथोदितस्योपाधिमात्रस्य स्वरूपं विवेचनीयम् । न खलु

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१. बृहदारण्यक. १. ४. ७. ।

तत्तदुपाधिपरिहाणादन्यत् प्रत्यगात्मनस्तत्त्वनिरूपणं नाम । अविषयो हि स स्वयंज्योतिस्स्वभावत्वात् । तत्रापि बलात्मानं प्राणमुदाहृत्य तत्स्वरूपपरीक्षणं विधीयते, येनाखिलः कार्यकरणसङ्घातः परीक्षितो भवति स्थालीव पुलाकपरीक्षणेन ।

तथा ह्यधिदैवं यो दिवस्पतिरिन्द्रः, योऽग्निर्देवानामन्नादः, यस्सर्वलोकस्य चक्षुरादित्यः, ये चान्ये दिक्प्रभृतयो देवाः, तेषामंशा इव शरीरभेदेष्वध्यात्मं सम्मिताः प्राणश्चक्षुर्वागित्यादिनामभिराख्यायन्ते "इन्द्रो[1] मे बले श्रितः," "अग्निर्मे वाचि श्रितः," "सूर्यो मे चक्षुषि श्रितः," "दिशो मे श्रोत्रे श्रिताः," "चन्द्रमा मे मनसि श्रितः" इति । करणानामिदं तत्त्वं दुरधिगममप्यपरोक्षमिव भावङ्गमं सुगमेन पथा कविरस्मान् लम्भयति ।

पुरा किल देवासुरसङ्ग्रामे क्षत्त्रप्रवरो दुष्यन्तः कालनेमिप्रमुखं दानवगणं निर्जित्य महेन्द्रस्य बहूपचक्रे । तमिन्द्रसारथिर्मातलिर्नृकेसारिणो भगवतस्साम्यसंस्तवेन तुष्टाव । दुष्यन्तः पुनरुदात्तालङ्कारेणानुत्सेकेन भूषितः प्राह––

सिध्यन्ति कर्मसु महत्स्वपि यन्नियोज्याः
सम्भावनागुणमवेहि तमीश्वराणाम् । शा. ७. ४. ।

अत्रात्मनो यद्बलकर्म, इन्द्रस्यानुग्रहः तस्य हेतुरित्यस्य प्रकृतार्थस्य स्वामिगौरवनिमित्ता हि लोके भृत्यानां समृद्धिरित्यप्रस्तुतवृत्तान्तेन प्रशंसा पूर्वार्धेन कृता । पुनस्साधारणादर्थात् सहृदयानां मनो व्यावर्त्य सूक्ष्मार्थनिनीषया दृष्टान्तविशेषं गृह्णाति––

किं वाभविष्यदरुणस्तमसां विभेत्ता
तं चेत्सहस्रकिरणो धुरि नाकरिष्यत् ॥ शा. ७. ४. ।

भास्वता रथिनाधिष्ठितस्तच्छायासङ्क्रमादरुणस्सूतो यथा प्रभवति तमोभेदनस्य; एवं बलात्मनेन्द्रेणाधिष्ठिताश्शरीरिणः तद्बलव्यतिकरेण महतो बलकर्मणः प्रभवन्तीत्यर्थः । अनेन दृष्टान्तविशेषग्रहणेन, भृत्येषु स्वामिनामिव, बलवत्सु पुरुषेषु मघोनो न बहुमानबन्धमात्रं सम्भावनागुणः । कस्तर्हि? अरुण इव सूर्यस्याधिष्ठानलक्षणः । स एव चेह प्रस्तुत इति ध्वन्यते ।

अपि च, महेन्द्रसारथे, हन्त! अस्मादृशैर्दुर्लभं भवतो भागधेयम्! यदरुण इव सहस्रकिरणेन, सारथ्यप्रसङ्गान्नित्यमसि सहस्राक्षेणाधिष्ठित इति दुष्यन्तकृतो मातलिं प्रति स्तुतिविनिमयो ध्वन्यते––

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१. तैत्ति. काठक. १. ८. ४. ८. ।

स्यान्मतम्—किं वाभविष्यदिति वचनेन सूर्यसारथेस्तमोनिरसनासामर्थ्यं भाति । तेन द्वारेण बोद्धव्यवैशिष्ट्यादिन्द्रसारथेरप्यपकर्ष एव प्रतिभायादिति । नैतद्युक्तम् । न खल्वरुणोऽत्यन्तमेव तमोविनाशं न करोति; किन्तु स कुर्वाणोऽधिष्ठानस्यादित्यस्य सन्निधानेन करोतीति विशेषोऽत्राभिधीयते । तस्माद्योऽधितिष्ठति सूर्यः, यं चाधितिष्ठत्यरुणं, उभयोरपि तयोः स्तुतिवर्णनमेतदिति मन्तव्यम् । अत एव यत्र द्वयोरपि स्तुतिप्रकर्ष आविश्चिकीर्षितः, यथा महाराजस्य रघोः प्रतिपन्नयौवराज्यस्याजस्य च, तत्रापीदमेव कविर्निदर्शयति—

यावत्प्रतापनिधिराक्रमते न भानुरह्नाय तावदरुणेन तमो निरस्तम् ।
आयोधनाग्रसरतां त्वयि वीर याते किं वा रिपूंस्तव गुरुः स्वयमुच्छिनत्ति ॥

र. ५. ७१. ।

कुमारस्याजस्य निद्राप्रबोधनाय वन्दिपुत्राणामयं स्तुतिविधिः । सङ्कटं ह्येतद्वर्तते स्तुतिपाठकानां, यद्युवराजमधिकृत्य स्तोतव्यम् । यदि राज्यसङ्गतेषु व्यवहारेषु तस्यातितरां प्रागल्भ्यमुपवर्ण्येत, तत्कदाचिद्वक्रगत्या राज्ञोऽपकर्षं सूचयेत् । राज्ञ एव वा महीकरणे, स्तुतये प्रकृतस्य नियतस्स एवापतेदपकर्षः कुमारस्य । तदस्मिन् क्लिष्टे संविधाने स्तोतृभ्यः कमपि पन्थानमुपदिशति कविः, येन पितापुत्रयोर्नान्योन्यस्मादुत्कर्षः कृतो भवति ; न वा भवत्यत्यन्तमकृत एव । इदं तत्, लोकन्यायाभिज्ञा महाकवय इति यदुच्यते ।

यदपि कैश्चिदुच्यते—परिणतवयसो रघोस्संसारधर्मव्याविवृत्सा, उदयौन्मुख्यं च कुमारस्य पद्येऽस्मिन् प्रतीयते । श्रीमन्मल्लिनाथादीनां व्याख्यानपदान्यप्यस्मिन्नेवार्थे समनुगतानीति । तदप्यहृद्यम् । न खलु कविवचसां ध्वनिमार्गो व्याख्यानपदानुगमेन परिच्छिद्येत । यथाहुः—व्याख्यातारः खल्वेवं मन्यन्ते न प्रतिपत्तार इति । तस्मात् 'यावत्प्रतापनिधिराक्रमते न भानुः' इत्यस्य रघावानुरूप्यसम्पदे साम्प्रतमेवं व्याख्यातुम् । न ह्येतावता कालेन रघूराज्ययोगक्षेमयोः पराङ्मुखः । परं प्रवृत्तेषु सङ्ग्रामेषु स यदा परसैन्यमभिषेणयति, तदा कुमारं पुरो निधत्ते । निर्जित्यैव शत्रून् निवर्तमाने तस्मिन्, स्वयं सन्नह्यतः प्रभवतोऽपि रघोर्जोषम्भावः स्वत एवावस्थित इति ।

अथापि स्यात् सुताधिरोपितराज्यभारो रघुः । एवमपि रघोरेव तावनुभावपराक्रमौ याभ्यामजोऽरीन्विजयते । किं कारणम्? अजो हि सर्वानौदार्यशौर्यतेजःप्रमुखानात्मगुणान् रघोस्सकाशादाससाद, न केवलं राज्यश्रियम् । यद्वर्णयांबभूव कविः—

रूपं तदोजस्वि तदेव वीर्यं तदेव नैसर्गिकमुन्नतत्वम् ।
न कारणात् स्वाद्बिभिदे कुमारः प्रवर्तितो दीप इव प्रदीपात् ॥
र. ५. ३७. ।

अयं भावः—यो यादृशश्च रघोरवयवविन्यासः, सारः, आरोहपरिणाहौ वा शरीरस्य त एव तादृशाश्चाजस्याभूवन् । अलं वा परिगणनेन । यावदौदार्यशौर्यादिषु न केनचिद्गुणेन स कुमारो गुरोर्बिभिदे—वैलक्षण्यं नावहदित्यर्थः । कारणगुणाः कार्यं सङ्क्रामन्तीति हि न्यायवित्समयः । तमुदाहरति—प्रवर्तितो दीप इव प्रदीपादिति । यथा महतः प्रदीपादुत्पादितो दीपः सर्वथा तेन समानस्वभाव एवेति भावः। अथ वा न कारणात्स्वात् बिभिदे—न खल्वजोऽत्यन्तमेव रघोर्विभिन्न इत्यर्थः । श्रुतिरपि 'आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि' इति पितुरव्यतिरेकं पुत्रस्य दर्शयति । कारणमेव संस्थानान्तरविशिष्टं कार्यमित्युच्यते इति च कारणतत्त्वविदां समयः । तमुदाहरति —दीप इव प्रदीपात् । कलिकामात्रं हि प्रदीपस्यान्येषु दीपेषु विभज्यते । न पुनर्दीप एवान्य उत्पाद्यत इत्यन्यदेतत् । हन्तेदानीं सहृदया भावयन्तु 'यावत्प्रतापनिधिः' 'रूपं तदोजस्वि' इति चानयोः पद्ययोरन्योन्यानुगुणसंबन्धसंवादेन कीदृशो भावातिशयः, कीदृशं च काव्यस्य सुश्लिष्टं बन्धगौरवम् !

तदेवं त्रयाणां श्लोकानां यथादर्शितेन व्याख्यानेनैतत् सिद्धं भवति—यदाश्चर्येषु कर्मसु भृत्याः प्रभवन्ति यजमाना एव तदाश्चर्येषु प्रभवन्ति । यदरुणस्तमांसि विनाशयत्यादित्य एव तत् । यदजो राजन्यं जिनाति महाराज एव तत् । यच्च दुष्यन्तोऽसुरान् हिनस्ति महेन्द्र एव तदसुरान् हिनस्ति । तदयं 'इन्द्रो मे बले श्रितः' इत्यादिश्रुतीनामाशयः सुष्ठु कविनोपलक्षितः ।

बलमधिकृत्य श्रीभगवत्पादा विशिंषन्ति—बलस्येन्द्रो देवता प्रसिद्धा । या काचिद्बलकृतिः इन्द्रकर्मैव तदिति हि वदन्ति—इति । के वदन्ति ? महाकविस्तावत्प्रथमं स्फुटमेतद्वदति । तथा हि उर्वशी नामाप्सराः । सा ह कामयमाना पुरूरवसं प्रियमेत्य जयशब्दमुदीरयामास । राजानमुपसर्पतां ह्येष समुदाचारो यद्विजयस्वेति शब्दं प्रयुञ्जते । न च तेनाहत्य कमप्यर्थं तदा विवक्षन्ति यदाज्ञापयति देव इति यद्वत् । तदाचारप्राप्तेनापीदृशेन जयोदाहरणेन स्तुतमिवात्मानं मन्यमानः पुरूरवाः शालीनतयोर्वशीं प्रत्युवाच—

मया नाम जितं यस्य त्वयायं समुदीर्यते ।
जयशब्दस्सहस्राक्षादागतः पुरुषान्तरम् ॥ विक्र. २. १६. ।

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१. ब्र. १. १. २९. पृ. २२०. ।

अयमर्थः—यं मां प्रतीन्द्रपार्श्ववर्तिन्या त्वया जय उदीर्यते, तेन मया नाम जितम्—मयैवायमनन्यसाधारणो जय इदानीं लब्ध इति । अथ वा मया नाम जितम्—को नाम मम तावानुत्कर्षः य इन्द्रसम्बन्धिभिरपि बहु मन्यत इत्यर्थः। यथा लोके वैद्युती शक्तिः तन्त्रीसहस्रद्वारेण विभक्ता व्यजनेषु तत्र तत्र व्यज्यते; तथा जयशब्दः तन्निमित्तं बलं वा सहस्राक्षात् तेन तेन द्वारेण पुरुषान्तरमागच्छति । प्रतिखं लोके व्यवस्थितस्य बलस्य समुदाय इवाकरो यो महेन्द्र इत्याशयः । अत एव बलसारायाः क्षत्रजातेरधिष्ठानमिन्द्रमीश्वरसृष्टं दर्शयति श्रुतिः "[1]उरसो बाहुभ्यां पञ्चदशं निरमिमीत तमिन्द्रो देवतान्वसृज्यत........राजन्यो मनुष्याणाम्" इति । यस्मादिन्द्रदेवत्यं क्षत्रं तस्माद्बलोत्कर्षमिच्छता तेनेन्द्रोपासनपरेण भवितव्यम् । तत्रोपासकानामिन्द्राद्बलप्राप्तौ दृष्टान्तः—

ननु वज्रिण एव वीर्यमेतद्विजयन्ते द्विषतो यदस्य पक्ष्याः ।
वसुधाधरकन्दराद्विसर्पी प्रतिशब्दोऽपि हरेर्भिनत्ति नागान् ॥

विक्र. १. १७. ।

बलप्रदानस्येन्द्रः प्रभवतीति हेतुगर्भं वज्रिण इति विशेषणम् । वज्रं हि बलावष्टब्धं सर्वस्य भयानकं प्रसिद्धं लोके । वज्रयोगश्चेन्द्रस्य—

पुरा नारायणेनेयमतिसृष्टा मरुत्वते ।
दैत्यहस्तादपाच्छिद्य सुहृदा सम्प्रति त्वया ॥ विक्र. १. १६. ।

इति मरुत्वत्पदेन व्युदपादि । "[2]वायौ हि पर्जन्यभावेन विवर्तमाने विद्युत्स्तनयित्नुवृष्टिवज्राणि विवर्तन्त इत्याचक्षत" इति च भगवत्पादाः । अत एव धूमज्योतिस्सलिलमरुतां सन्निपातं मेघं गमयन् स मेघवाहनो नाम भण्यत इत्यन्यत् । वज्रिणो वीर्यं तत्पक्ष्येषु संक्रान्तं तेषां विजयसम्पदं भावयतीत्येतत्सम्भावयितुमाह वसुधाधरेत्यादि । कालिदासीयमिदं दृष्टान्तग्रहणं कियतीमानुरूप्यश्रियं दार्ष्टान्तिकस्य पुष्णाति! अयि! चित्रीयमाणास्सहृदयाः! अवधत्तेह किञ्चित् ।

यान्यत्र दृष्टान्ते गिरिकन्दराणि नाम, तान्यन्यत्र दार्ष्टान्तिके प्राणिनां शरीराणि, हृदयानि वा । यत्र तानि व्यतिषज्यन्ते स वसुधाधरः अन्यत्र वैश्वानरो विराडात्मा । पर्वतनिवासिनो हरेर्गर्जितशब्दश्च वैश्वानरावयवस्य हरेरिन्द्रस्य बलमिति इयती स्थानापत्तिर्विवक्षणीया । स यथा सिंहस्य गर्जितध्वानो गुहासु निविशमानः प्रतिशब्दात्मना विनिष्क्रामति, तथा शरीरदेशेषु विभक्तमैन्द्रं बलं प्रतिबलात्मना

१. तै. सं. ७. १. १. ४. ५. । २. ब्र. १. ३. ३९. पृ. ३६०. ।

निस्सरति। तदुपष्टम्भाश्च मर्त्या वैरिणः प्रमापयन्तीत्यभिप्रायः। "[1]यदि शरीरं गुहा यदि वा हृदयं उभयथा बुद्धिक्षेत्रज्ञौ गुहां प्रविष्टावुपपद्येते" इति वदन्तो भाष्यकारा अपि गुहाशब्दस्य शरीरादौ प्रचुरं प्रयोगं मन्वते। शरीरसर्गानन्तरं स्रष्टुरीश्वरस्य तत्प्रवेशोऽपि "[2]स एतमेव सीमानं विदार्य एतया द्वारा प्रापद्यत" इति श्रुत्युक्तः शरीरस्य गुहारूपणेनैवोपकल्पते। यद्यपि सुदूरमिव गत्वेयती भावपुष्टिरालक्ष्यते। तथापि तावती कविहृदयस्य भावभूमिरितीदं लिङ्गम्। यदयमिन्द्रसम्बन्धिषु संविधानेषु सर्वत्रेदृशीमेव प्रतिपादनशैलीमनुसन्दधाति। तेन बलसारस्येन्द्रस्य प्रसङ्गेऽन्यस्य वीर्योत्कर्षप्रख्यापनं, इक्षुयन्त्रस्थलीषु गुडोत्कर्षप्रख्यापनमिवोपहासास्पदं मन्यते कविरिति गम्यते।

अत्र केचिद्विमर्शकंमन्या मन्वीरन्। विप्रकीर्णानि किल वचनान्येकत्र समाहृत्य कवेरिदं विशिष्टतात्पर्यमध्यवसीयते। नायं साधुरध्यवसायः। अन्योन्येषु हि प्रकरणेषु विच्छिद्य विच्छिद्य व्यवस्थितानीमानि वचनानि, नैकाभिप्रायाणि। न चैषामन्योन्यापेक्षास्ति, येनैकवाक्यतां नीयेरन्। न च सा कल्पयितुं शक्यते। यदि नाम समानकविकृतानां काव्यानां समानाभिप्रायत्वे कविकर्मणस्सुश्लिष्टतां मन्यमानः कश्चिद्विशकलितानि वाक्यान्येकत्रोपसंजिहीर्षेत्। तेन च बलं नामेन्द्रो देवतेत्यौपनिषदं तत्त्वं कवेरुपदिदिक्षितमुत्प्रेक्षेत, स कविवचनेनैव विरुध्येत। तथा हि—अश्वमेधे दिलीपोत्सृष्टमश्वमनुगच्छतो रघोः तमपहरतो महेन्द्रस्य च तुमुलमायोधनं कविर्वर्णयति। न खलु विक्रमैकसारोऽपि रघुरन्यो वा बलाधिष्ठानमिन्द्रमभियोक्तुमीष्टे। तस्मादननुगता एव तत्र तत्र कवीनामाशया विच्छित्तिविशेषभागिन इति। तैरेवं मन्यमानैस्तस्मिन्नेव युद्धवर्णने कविसूचितं समाधानवचनं नोपलक्षितम्। यदाह स्म कविः—

अतिप्रबन्धप्रहितास्त्रवृष्टिभिस्तमाश्रयं दुष्प्रसहस्य तेजसः।
शशाक निर्वापयितुं न वासवः स्वतश्च्युतं वह्निमिवाद्भिरम्बुदः॥

र॰ ३. ५८.।

स्वतश्च्युतमिति रघोर्वह्नेश्च विशेषणम्। यथा मेघः स्वतो निर्गतं विद्युदादि वृष्टिभिः शमयितुं न शक्नोति; तथेन्द्रोऽपि स्वस्मान्निर्गतं रघुं निरोद्धुं नाशकदित्यर्थः।

अत्र श्रीमन्मल्लिनाथप्रमुखा व्याख्यातारो रघोरिन्द्रात्प्रभवं "[3]इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च। अष्टाभिर्लोकपालानां मात्राभिर्निर्मितो नृपः॥" इति स्मृत्या

१. ब्र. १. २. ११. पृ. २४२.। २. ऐ. उ. १. ३. १२.। ३. मनु. ७. ४.।

समर्थयन्ति, न दर्शयन्ति स्वतश्च्युतमिति विशेषणस्य सरसं प्रयोजनम् । तत्कवेरिदं हृद्गतम् ।—ऐन्द्रं हि बलमवष्टम्भो रघोः, येनायं समितिषु प्रगल्भते । स कथं युद्ध्यन् इन्द्रेण दुष्प्रधर्षः स्यादित्यसम्भावना न कार्या । मेघप्रभवः किल वह्निर्न शक्यते मेघेन निर्वापयितुम् । तत्साम्प्रतमेव मेघवाहनप्रभवो रघुर्मेघवाहनेन न निरुध्यत इति । मेघ इति मेघवाहन इति च द्वावप्यत्र समानस्वभावाविति च ध्वनिः । अथ वा नेदमविषयो नाम व्याख्यातॄणाम् । 'नामूलं लिख्यते किंचिन्नानपेक्षितमुच्यते' इति प्रतिज्ञासिद्धये, मन्यामहे, तैरेतदुपेक्षितं स्यात् । सर्वथा कालिदासादिमहाकवीनां सर्वप्रबन्धेषु अनुगताशयवर्णनमेव सहृदयानां चेतसि चमत्कारं पुष्णाति । ये तु कवीनां कमपि सन्देशमखिलकाव्यनिगूढमीदृशं न रोचयन्ते, केवलं विच्छिन्नभावसंवेदनैकक्षणमात्रसन्तोषिणस्ते पुनरेकवारं भावानुगमदृष्ट्या युद्धवर्णनमिदं निरूपयन्तु । बलस्याधिष्ठानमिन्द्र इत्युपनिषदर्थाभिव्यञ्जनैकप्राणं ह्येतत्प्रकरणम् । तथा चान्यादृशी कवेरिह वर्णनगमनिका श्लिष्यते । समितिषु च कलहायमानयोरेकस्य विजयो भवत्यन्यस्य च पराजय इति प्रसिद्धं लोके । नात्र रघोरिन्द्रस्य वा जयः पराजयो वा दृश्यते । दुर्बलः प्रबलेन सन्दधातीत्ययमपरो युयुत्सूनां धर्मो नीतिदृष्टः । न चात्र कविवचोभिरिन्द्ररघ्वोः बलाबलं निर्धार्यते ।

सोऽयंकवेरन्यादृशो युद्धसङ्गतस्येतिवृत्तस्य वर्णनाप्रकारः । रघुः किलाश्वमपहरते प्रच्छन्नायेन्द्राय चुक्रोध । स जाताभिषङ्गस्सगरपुत्राणामाख्याननिदर्शनेन तं निरभर्त्सयत् । अनिर्जित्य रघुं नार्हसि मेध्यमश्वमाक्रमितुमिति वदन्नेव रघुर्युद्धाय सन्ननाह । शतमन्युरपि बालस्य विक्रमवल्गितेन जनितामर्षः प्रतियोद्धुमारेभे । अनयोरेवं प्रवर्धमाने विशङ्कटशस्त्रसम्पाते रघुणा छिन्नं स्वकं धनुर्गुणमालक्ष्य स गोत्रभित् तमुरसि वज्रेण प्राहरत् । मोहमुपगतोऽपि रघुः क्षणमात्रेण विसोढवज्राघातः प्रसुप्त इव प्रतिबुबुधे । हर्षविस्मयाभ्यामेकपद एवाकुलीभूतो जिष्णुः प्रीतमनाः 'हन्त ! वृणीष्व वरमभिमतमृते तुरङ्गमात्' इति स्फुटमाह स्म । तमिमं—

अमोच्यमश्वं यदि मन्यसे प्रभो ततः समाप्ते विधिनैव कर्मणि ।
अजस्रदीक्षाप्रयतस्स मद्गुरुः क्रतोरशेषेण फलेन युज्यताम् ॥
यथा च वृत्तान्तमिमं सदोगतस्त्रिलोचनैकांशतया दुरासदः ।
तवैव सन्देशहराद्विशांपतिः श्रृणोति लोकेश तथा विधीयताम् ॥

र. ३. ६५–६६. ।

इति पणबन्धेन नियमितं सन्धिमिव रघुः प्रतिपेद इति ।

अहो वचसामविषयो महाकवेः काव्यवस्तुसङ्क्रमनमहिमा! येनेन्द्रादपि रघोर्वीर्यातिशय आविष्कृतः। बलाधिष्ठानमिन्द्रो नान्येन जय्य इति स्वाभिमतश्च सन्देश एकत्रैव निर्व्यूढः।

तदेवं बलमिति शरीरेऽस्मिन्निन्द्रदेवतायाः संज्ञेति सप्रपञ्चं बहुषु वचनेषु कविसंदेशो दर्शितः। अनयैव दिशा वागादिकरणजातमप्यग्न्यादेर्देवस्याध्यात्मसम्मितोंऽशभेद एवेति तत्र तत्र निगूढं कविहृदयं स्वयमेव सहृदयैर्विभावनीयम्।

न चानेन मिषेण, वह्निसमीरणपर्जन्यप्रमुखा अचेतना एव धातवः तथा तथा मनुजानामुपकुर्वन्तः, तमुपकारं बहु गणयद्भिरपदानसंस्तवेन तैर्महीकृताः, देवताभावमलभन्त; न त्वेवैषां चेतनायोगः समस्तीति बाह्यानां मतं प्रमाणपदवीमध्यासीत। यतो विवक्षावशेन क्वचिदचेतने वस्तुमात्रे प्रयुज्यमानाः शब्दा अन्यत्र तदधिष्ठानचैतन्यपर्यन्ते वर्तन्ते। अत्र च रमणीयो ग्रामः, अधृष्यो ग्राम इति प्रयोगभेदमुदाहराम पुरस्तात्। अत एव गिरिनदीवनसमुद्रगगनादीनामकृत्रिमां श्रियमेव दर्शंदर्शं तृप्यतः, प्रकृतिमेव वा केवलां सर्वस्य निदानमाकलयतस्तान् देवताविज्ञानपराङ्मुखान्, सन्मार्गमवतारयन्निव महाकविः काव्यप्रमुखे वस्तु निर्दिशति—

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः।
पूर्वापरौ वारिनिधी वगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः॥

कु. १. १.।

नो खलु शिलासङ्घातमयः केवलमचलो हिमवान् नाम यथा साधारणजनेषु प्रथितः। नगाधिराजोऽयं महासत्त्वो देवतात्मा, यस्य शरीरमात्रं स्थावरमिदं दृश्यत इति चेतनायोगं दर्शयति। पुनरपि देवताभावमस्य यज्ञभागवत्तयोपोद्बलयति—

यज्ञाङ्गयोनित्वमवेक्ष्य यस्य सारं धरित्रीधरणक्षमं च।
प्रजापतिः कल्पितयज्ञभागं शैलाधिपत्यं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत्॥

कु. १. १७.।

सूत्रकारोऽपि "तत्तेज ऐक्षत"[1] इत्यादिश्रुतिषु तेजःप्रभृतीनां गौणमीक्षणं "गौणश्चेन्नात्मशब्दात्"[2] इत्यभ्युपेत्य पुनस्तेजआदिशब्दैस्तदभिमानिन्यो देवता व्यपदिश्यन्त इति मुख्यं सिद्धान्तं "अभिमानिव्यपदेशस्तु विशेषानुगतिभ्यां"[3] इति जगाद। 'तदभिध्यानादेव तु तल्लिङ्गात्सः[4]" "ज्योतिराद्यधिष्ठानं तु तदामननात्[5]"

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१. छान्दोग्य. ६. २. ३.। २. ब्रह्म. १. १. ६.। ३. ब्रह्म. २. १. ५.।
४. ब्रह्म. २. ३. १३.। ५. ब्रह्म. २. ४. १४.।

इति च बहुभिः सूत्रैरस्यार्थस्य प्रपञ्चनात् सूत्रकृतोऽत्र निर्भरातिशयो गम्यते। सूत्रार्थानुध्यानैकतानमानसो महाकविरप्यसकृदिमं सूत्रकृदाशयं तात्पर्येणाविष्करोति। अभ्यागतान्मुनीनातिथेयेन विधिना सत्कृत्य तेभ्य आत्मानं निवेदयतो हिमवतो वचनम्—

जङ्गमं प्रैष्यभावे वः स्थावरं चरणाङ्कितम्।
विभक्तानुग्रहं मन्ये द्विरूपमपि मे वपुः॥ कु. ६. ५८.।

प्रतिवचनावसरे मुनयोऽपि हिमवन्तमूचुः—

काठिन्यं स्थावरे काये भवतस्सर्वमर्पितम्।
इदं तु ते भक्तिनम्रमर्हदाराधनं वपुः॥ कु. ६. ७३.।

किं बहुना, यावत्कविर्गृहस्थोचितमखिलमेव वृत्तं हिमवति सम्भावयत्यस्मिन्काव्ये। बहुषु स्थलेष्वित्थं नामाचेतनत्वाद्व्यावर्त्य हिमवतो देवताभावे सहृदयान्निर्बध्नतो महाकवेर्वननदीसमुद्रादिष्वपि देवतांशसद्भावस्संदिदिक्षित इति मुक्तसंशयं प्रतीयते। तदीदृशमेव महीयः कविकर्म लक्ष्यं संलक्षयन्तोऽभियुक्ता वदन्ति—

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु वैचक्षण्यं कलासु च।
करोति कीर्तिं प्रीतिं च साधुकाव्यनिषेवणम्॥ भामह. १. २.।

अथ वा कृतमनेन काव्यशीलनस्यानुनिष्पादिना देवतातत्त्वविज्ञानेन। विशिष्टतरं प्रयोजनमन्यदिह समस्ति, यत्र हृदयालुर्न विप्रतिपद्येत कश्चित्। इह लोकैरचेतनत्वाभिमतं प्राकृतं वस्तुजातं, यद्येवंविधेन काव्यनिषेवणेन सरसस्वान्ताः स्पष्टास्पष्टविभाविताविभावितत्वाभ्यामुच्चावचं चेतनायोगं निगच्छत् विभावयेम, तदा कियानेकैकस्मिन् वस्तुनि भावनिकरः, कियती शोभा, कियन्तश्चोल्लेखाः काव्यमार्गगानां समुल्लसन्तीति हन्त सहृदयानां हृदयमेव प्रमाणम्। तथा हि—प्रमदानां विशिष्टमिदं व्रतं प्रियानुमरणं नामेत्युपदेष्टव्ये न धर्मशास्त्रवचनोपन्यासेन, न सतीनां बहूनां पुरावृत्तवर्णनेनायमुपदेशो भावुकानां हृदयसंवादाय भवति; भवति तु सरसकाव्यनिवेशनेन। विशेषतस्सन्दर्भानुगुणतन्मयीभावक्रमेण चारुतरमयमास्वाद्यते। सतीभ्यो धर्ममेतमादिशति महाकविः—

शशिना सह याति कौमुदी सह मेघेन तडित्प्रलीयते।
प्रमदाः पतिवर्त्मगा इति प्रतिपन्नं हि विचेतनैरपि॥ कु. ४. ३३.।

सन्तु नाम तत्त्वतोऽविभावितचैतन्या अपि विद्युदादयो लोके अचेतनत्वाभिमताः। तेऽपि खलु धारयन्तीदमनुमरणव्रतम्; किमुत याः प्रतिबोधवत्य इति भावः।

तथान्यत्र मैथिलीहरणजनितां हृदयव्यथामन्तस्संज्ञानामपि वीरुधामनुभावयति—

त्वं रक्षसा भीरु यतोऽपनीता तं मार्गमेताः कृपया लता मे ।
अदर्शयन्वक्तुमशक्नुवत्यः शाखाभिरावर्जितपल्लवाभिः ॥ र. १३. २४. ।

यथा चैवमेव सर्वत्र प्राकृतवस्तूनां रामणीयकानुवर्णनमस्य कवेरसाधारणं वाग्विभवमुपदर्शयति तथा सूरिभिरत्र पराक्रान्तम् ।

किं बहुना,

"द्रवस्सङ्घातकठिनः स्थूलस्सूक्ष्मो लघुर्गुरुः"

इति पद्योदाहरणेन निरतिशयसद्ज्ञानानन्दलक्षणः पर एव निखिलेषु धातुषु गूढ इति हि प्रतिष्ठापितमधस्तात् ।

यद्यप्येक एव चिदानन्दस्वभाव आत्मा निगूढः सर्वभूतेषु, तथापि यत्र यत्र चिदंश आनन्दांशश्चाविस्तराममिव्यज्यते, तद्रामणीयकसम्पदा विभूषितं समुल्लसति । तदभिव्यक्तितारतम्येन चैकरूपमपि ज्ञानानन्दादि क्वचित्प्रकर्षवदिव, क्वचिदपकर्षवदिव, क्वचित्सदिव, क्वचिदसदिव च प्रतिभासते ; यथा सवितृप्रकाशो वर्षासु निकृष्ट इव, शरदि प्रकृष्ट इव च प्रथते तद्वत् । सैषा सर्वेषु वस्तुषु निकामं समुल्लसन्ती सौन्दर्यलक्ष्मीः पारमेश्वरी विभूतिरेव, यां श्रुतिर्दर्शयति "तद्य इमे वीणायां गायान्ति एतं ते गायन्ति तस्मात्ते धनसनयः" इति ।
स्मृतिरपि—

यद्यद्विभूतिमत्सत्त्वं श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोंऽशसम्भवम् ॥ गी. १०. ४१. ।
गामाविश्य च भूतानि धारयाम्यहमोजसा ।
पुष्णामि चौषधीस्सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसात्मकः ॥ इति च ।

अस्यैव च तत्त्वस्योपव्याख्यानाय कृत्स्नो विभूत्यध्यायस्समनुक्रम्यते श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासु । कविरपि हिमवत्संस्तवव्याजेन श्रुतिस्मृत्योरिदं तात्पर्यं श्लोकद्वयेन विवृणोति—

तिर्यगूर्ध्वमधस्ताच्च व्यापको महिमा हरेः ।
त्रिविक्रमोद्यतस्यासीत् स तु स्वाभाविकस्तव ॥ कु. ६. ७१. ।

स्थाने त्वां स्थावरात्मानं विष्णुमाहुस्तथा हि ते ।
चराचराणां भूतानां कुक्षिराधारतां गतः ॥ कु. ६. ६७. ।

स्यादेतत् । तत्त्वदर्शिनो मीमांसन्ते—किं कारणं पुरुषो रम्याणि वस्तूनि दृष्ट्वा मधुरान् शब्दांश्च निशम्य कमपि मानसं व्यतिषङ्गं भजते ? पर्यस्तपरमात्मविभूतीनां वा जीवात्मभिरेषां कस्सम्बन्ध इति । अस्यैव शब्दादिविषयसङ्गतसौन्दर्यानुबन्धिनः प्रश्नस्य प्रतिवचनायाद्यतनास्तत्त्वविमर्शिनस्सर्वे स्वकस्य शास्त्रस्य भागमेकं विनियुञ्जते । न चाद्ययावच्छङ्कारहितं तस्य पारमधिगच्छन्ति । तमिमं प्रश्नं तत्त्वदर्शनानुगतातिगभीरभावयाथात्म्यसन्देशैकस्वकाव्यप्रयोजनः कविसार्वभौमो दुष्यन्तमुखेनावतारयति—

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्
पर्युत्सुकीभवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः । शा. ५. २० ।

यस्मादिमं प्रश्नं यथावन्निर्णेतुमपर्याप्ता बहवः, तस्मान्महति विषयेऽस्मिन् किं नाम महाकवेर्दर्शनं स्यादिति सूक्ष्मगत्या लक्षणीयम् ।

तत्र साङ्ख्या मन्यन्ते—सुखदुःखमोहविकारिणां सत्त्वरजस्तमोगुणानां सामान्यं प्रकृतिरुच्यते, यस्यास्संस्थानमात्रं दरीदृश्यते सर्वमिदं जगत् । तत्र येयं प्रकृतिकार्यस्य वस्तुनस्सुखप्रकाशात्मता स सत्त्वगुणः, या दुःखरागात्मता तद्रजः, या मोहविषादात्मता तत्तमः । तथा पुरुषस्य चित्तमपि त्रैगुण्यान्वितम् । तस्माद्विषयसंप्रयोगकाले तेन चित्तेन यदा विषयस्य सत्त्वमेव समुद्भूतं प्राधान्येन लक्ष्यते, तदा चित्तगतसत्त्वगुणस्यैव समुद्रेकात् प्रियं भवति । एवं रजस्तमसोरपि रागो विषादश्च फलं द्रष्टव्यम् । यथाहुराचार्यवाचस्पतिमिश्राः "मैत्रस्य दाराः पद्मावती नाम । तस्यां मैत्रस्य सुखं, तत्कस्य हेतोः? तं प्रति सत्त्वगुणसमुद्भवात् । तत्सपत्नीनां च दुःखं, तत्कस्य हेतोः? ताः प्रत्यस्या रजोगुणसमुद्भवात् । चैत्रस्य तु स्त्रैणस्य तामविन्दतो मोहो विषादः, तत्कस्य हेतोः? तं प्रत्यस्यास्तमोगुणसमुद्भवात् । पद्मावत्या च सर्वे भावा व्याख्याताः" इति ।

यद्यप्येतदविप्रतिपन्नमद्वैतवादिनामपि, तथापि न समुद्भूतसत्त्वस्य चित्तस्य परिणाम एव सुखम्, किं तर्हि तदभिव्यक्तमात्मचैतन्यमिति मुख्यं पक्षान्तरं तैः प्रदर्शितम् । चित्ताशयविचित्रतरवासानिमित्तं चित्तस्य गुणविशेषोद्रेके सम्भवति नावश्यं विषयेषु सत्त्वादेः प्राधन्यसमुद्भवः कल्पनीय इति च तेषां मते विशेषः । तदनेन विषयधर्मैश्चित्तधर्मो वा सत्त्वादिः कारणं, येन विषयान् दृष्ट्वा पुरुषो हृष्यति रज्यते विषीदति चेत्युक्तं भवति" ।

अद्यतनेष्वपि केचित्तत्त्वविमर्शिनो मन्वते—दृश्यवस्तुषु अवयवरूपचेष्टादीन कोऽपि विलक्षणः सन्निवेशो भवति । स एवास्माभिस्तेषु रामणीयकश्रीर्दृश्यत

इति ।अन्ये तु शरीरिणां हृदयेषु पूर्वावस्थिताः सन्त्यन्यान्ये भावाः । ते तद्भाविता रमणीयानिव विषयानवमृशन्ति । नास्त्यन्या श्रीर्नामेति ।

एवमन्येऽपि बहवो बहुधात्र विप्रतिपद्यन्ते । सर्वेषां वादानामनुवादाय तारतम्यपरीक्षणाय वा निबन्धेऽस्मिन्नवकाशो न पर्याप्तः । इदमिदानीं परमवसानमस्या विचारपदव्याः प्रदर्श्यते । यदध्यासप्रसङ्गेन निरणैषुः श्रीमत्सुरेश्वराचार्याः–

वित्तात्पुत्रः प्रियः पुत्रात्पिण्डः पिण्डात्तथेन्द्रियम् ।
इन्द्रियेभ्यः प्रियः प्राणः प्राणादात्मा परः प्रियः ॥ बृ. वा. १.४.१०३१.।

एतदुक्तं भवति । यस्मात् कार्यकरणसंघातेऽस्मिन् सर्वान्तर आनन्दलक्षणः प्रत्यगात्मैक एव ; तस्यैव च कामाय सर्वं प्रियं भवतीति श्रुत्या दार्शितम् । तस्मात् आत्मान्यस्य वस्तुनो न कस्याप्यात्मसन्निकर्षमप्राप्यानन्दरूपतया भवितव्यम् । स आत्मा यत्र यत्राहंममेत्यध्यवस्यति, तेनैवाभिमानेन तदात्मा सन्नात्मन एवानन्दांशं तत्र पश्यति ।तदा तस्य तत्प्रियं प्रतिभासते । सोऽयमहंममेत्यभिमानलणस्सन्निकर्षो यावद्यावदध्यासव्यवधानेन विप्रकृष्यते, तावानानन्दाभिव्यक्तेस्तत्रापकर्षः यावत्प्रत्यासीदति तावानुत्कर्षः। तथा च विना व्यवधानमादौ स्वात्मन्यध्यस्तः प्रथमः प्राणः –बुद्धिः–परं प्रेमास्पदम । तेनैवान्तरेण व्यवहितेष्विन्द्रियेषु सत्यप्यध्यासे कियानपि प्रेम्णोऽपकर्षो भवति । अनेन क्रमेण यदा बाह्यमपि वस्तुजातं शरीराद्यनुबन्धप्रणालिकयात्मनि सञ्चार्यते, तदा बाह्यवस्तुनि य ऐश्वर आनन्दांशो यथानिरूपितः, यश्च जीवस्यानन्दांशः तयोरैक्यसम्पत्तेस्तदस्य प्रियं भवति । तदेवं वित्तात्पुत्र इत्यादि यावन्मनोगतं तारतम्येनावस्थितः प्रेमोपपन्नतर इति ।

तत्रैतत्स्यात्–प्रेम्ण इदमुपपादनं न युक्तम् । न खलु लोको यद्रमणीयं पश्यति, आत्मनीनं तद्दृष्ट्वा स तत्र हृष्यति । अन्यदीयाश्च केषांचिद्रुचिता दृश्यन्ते, स्वकीयाश्च द्विष्टाः । वस्तुषु रामणीयकदर्शनसमुल्लसिते चाह्लादे कृतमत्रात्माभिमानेनेति । एवमनुशयानानां प्रतिविधानायानुक्रामति महाकविः—

तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं
भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि ॥ शा. ५. २. ।

इदमत्राकूतम्—अखण्डानन्दस्य परमात्मनोंऽशा इव भावेषु प्राकृतेषु पर्यस्ताः 'सा हि श्रीरमृता सताम्' । स्वयमानन्दस्वभावो जीवोऽपि तानवमृशन् तदभेदाभिमानसम्पत्त्या कमपि स्वान्ते विकासं लभते । तेन यद्वस्तूषु रामणीयकसम्पदं प्रेक्ष्य पुरुष आनन्दति, तदात्मन एव तदा सोऽभिव्यक्तचिदानन्दरूपां रामणी-

यकसम्पदं संवेदयते। अथ क्वचिदयं स्वस्वकीयाभिमानलक्षणः प्रेमानुबन्ध इह जन्मनि न प्राप्नोति, तदवश्यं जन्मान्तरानुबद्धं तत्कल्पनीयमिति।

प्राचि भवे लब्धजन्मनामपि भावशयानां संस्काराणामिह जन्मनि कार्ययोगं ददर्श भगवान् पतञ्जलिः "जातिदेशकालव्यवहितानामप्यानन्तर्यं स्मृतिसंस्कारयोरेकरूपत्वात्" (योग. ४. ९.) इति।

तस्य संवृतमन्त्रस्य गूढाकारेङ्गितस्य च।
फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव॥ र. १. २०.।

तां हंसमालाः शरदीव गङ्गां महौषधिं नक्तमिवात्मभासः।
स्थिरोपदेशामुपदेशकाले प्रपेदिरे प्राक्तनजन्मविद्याः॥ कु. १. ३०.।

"मनो हि जन्मान्तरसङ्गतिज्ञम्" (र. ७. १५.)

इति च तत्र तत्र कवेर्वचनजातमुदाहर्तव्यम्। यदपि "जन्मान्तरानुभूतं च न स्मर्यते" भाष्यकृद्वचनं, तत् इदमेवममुष्मिन्काले निर्ज्ञातमिति सप्रत्यभिज्ञं न स्मर्यत इत्येवंपरमभियुक्ता व्याचचक्षिरे।

जन्मान्तरानुभूतं च न स्मर्यत इति स्थितम्।
तत्कर्मफलसम्बन्धं प्रतीति प्रतिजानते॥

तथा ह्यनादौ संसारे कर्मभेदात्तरमस्त्नपि।
अनन्तकृतकर्मत्वात्को विद्यात्कस्य किं फलम्॥ विभ्रमविवेकः १४२. १४३.।

इति वदन्त आचार्यमण्डनमिश्रा अस्य भाष्यस्याभिप्रायान्तरमाचख्युः। तदिदमुक्तं "स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वम्" इति।

एवमस्य पद्यस्य महाविषयतां स्वादंस्वादमतृप्त इव महाकविः श्रीमान् भवभूतिरत्र निगूढं भावं कथमप्याविष्करोति—

व्यतिषजति पदार्थानान्तरः कोऽपि हेतुः
न खलु बहिरुपाधीन्प्रीतयः संश्रयन्ते। मालती. १. २७.।

चेतनाचेतनेषु कोऽप्ययं सर्वान्तरो वाङ्मनसयोरविषयस्तिष्ठति, येनैषामन्योन्यसङ्गतं समुपजायत इत्यर्थः। ननु च वस्तूनामवयवसन्निवेशो गुणसमुदयः क्रियाविशेषयोगो देशकालसंविधानं वा किमप्यौत्सुक्यहेतुर्भविष्यति; मनस एव वा भावनाविशेष इति। नेत्याह-न खलु प्रीतयो बहिरुपाधीन्—बाह्यनिमित्तान्यपेक्षन्ते। एतद्विशेषेण समर्थयति—

विकसति हि पतङ्गस्योदये पुण्डरीकं
द्रवति च हिमंरश्मावुद्गते चन्द्रकान्तः ॥ मालती. १. २७. ।

यदि नाम बाह्यं किमपीह निमित्तमभविष्यत्, समानेऽपि कठोरतरसूर्यरश्मिसम्पर्के मृदुलस्य कमलस्यैव विकासो नोत्पलस्येति विभागो नोपापत्स्यत । तथा चन्द्रोदये कठोरस्यापि चन्द्रकान्तस्य द्रवीभावो न तु सूर्यकान्तस्येति च व्यवस्था न स्यादित्यर्थः। तस्मात्पारमेश्वर्या विभूतेः चिदानन्दलक्षणायास्तादृग्विधस्य च जीवचैतन्यस्यैकलोलीभावः पदार्थेषु रामणीयकश्रीरानन्दश्चेतीदमेव भारतीयमहाकवीनां दार्शनिकानां च दर्शनम् ।

तदेवं यदवोचाम, आनन्दरूपमप्यस्य कविवचनसिद्धं जीवनिरूपणे दर्शयिष्याम इति; तदिदमानन्दरूपं जीवस्य दर्शितम् । बलोपन्याख्यानेन च प्राणवागादयोऽस्योपाधयो व्याख्याताः । तेन तैर्विसृष्टबन्धस्य स्वाभाविकः परमात्मभावश्शास्त्रसिद्धस्सिद्धो भवति । यथा चायं जीवो जागरितं, स्वप्नः, सुषुप्तमिति तिस्रोऽवस्था अनुभवति; जन्ममरणप्रबन्धारूढोऽनिशमावर्तते; तथा कविभावोपन्यासमुखेनोपरिष्टात् तत्त्वज्ञानसाधननिरूपणे चिन्तयिष्यामः । तत्रैव प्रसङ्गे जीवस्वरूपसङ्गतं च किमप्यन्यत्।

ॐ

———

A<u>R</u>AVAṆAVAṬIKAḶ (ĀCĀRYA-DHARMAPĀLA ?) AGAIN.

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA, VIDYAVACASPATI,

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In an article entitled "The date of the Maṇimēkalai" contributed to the last issue of this Journal (J.O.R. M-Vol. I.Part. IV. pp. 321 to 329), my learned and esteemed colleague of Trivandrum, Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyer B. A., B. L., Retired Judge, criticises my views on the date of the Maṇimēkalai, set forth in my article contributed to Vol. I, part II of this Journal (pp. 191 to 201). His criticism may be summed up in these four paragraphs.

(1) Granting that the principles of Buddhist logic, as outlined in section XXIX of the *Maṇimēkalai*, are almost entirely based on the *Nyāya-pravēśa*, nothing would be "more probable or natural than to ascribe the authorship of the *Nyāya-pravēśa* to the greatest logician of the pre-Diṅnāgan period, Ācārya Nāgārjuna ; and on this basis, *Maṇimēkalai* need not be assigned to a period posterior even to the second century A. C".

(2) As "there is nothing violent in assigning Diṅnāga to the second century A. C. Maṇimēkalai need not be posterior to the close of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century A. C, even if Diṅnāga be the author of the *Nyāya-pravēśa*".

(3) " ஆதி சினேந்திர னளவை யிரண்டே
ஏதமில் பிரத்தியங் கருத்தள வென்ன."

Hardly convincing is the reasoning at pages 196 and 197, Vol. I, part II of this Jounrnal, that the expression *ētamil* in the Tamil extract given above should be construed with *aḷavai* and may, thus, be taken to embody the post-Diṅnāgan improvement referred to by Vācaspati-miśra in the Sanskrit extract quoted at page 196 *ibid* ; that certain important modifications in Diṅnāga's classification of fallacies, which Dharmakīrti introduced in his *Nyāya-bindu* are

not found adopted in section XXIX of the *Maṇimēkalai*, which faithfully follows Diṅnāga's arrangement and classification ; and that, therefore, the Maṇimēkalai should be assigned to the period of transition between Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti.

(4) " If *A̱ravaṇavaṭikaḷ* must needs be equated with some well-known name in Sanskrit Buddhism, why could it not be with *Diṅnāga* himself ? The only excuse offered against it is the occurrence of *ētamil*, a fanciful objection at the best. In A̱ravaṇavaṭikaḷ's time, Buddhism was at a low ebb. Buddhism was almost aggressively in the ascendant in Dharmapāla's days". *Ergo*, it is difficult to imagine that Dharmapāla and A̱ravaṇavaṭikaḷ might be one and the same person.

I considered these criticisms very carefully and I find that they are all untenable. I proceed to deal with them in the order in which they are set forth *supra*.

(1) Professor Vidhuśēkhara Bhaṭṭācārya holds, on the authority of Sanskrit and Tibetan documents, that Diṅnāga is the author of the *Nyāya-praveśa*. In his introduction to the Tibetan text of the *Nyāya-praveśa* published as Part II of No. XXXIX of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, he maintains that the evidence furnished by Diṅnāga himself, on the one side, in his own *vṛtti* on his *Pramaṇā-samuccaya* and by Jinendrabuddhi in his commentary on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, and, on the other side, by Dharmakīrti, the best known and most authoritative exponent of post-Diṅnāgan Buddhist logic, could leave absolutely no doubt, whatever, that the real author of the *Nyāya-pravēśa* is *Diṅnāga*. The learned Professor also confesses his inability to explain how eminent Chinese authorities like Kwei-chi, who was a great disciple of Yuan-Chwang and wrote a commentary on the *Nyāya-praveśa*, come to attribute that work to Bodhisattva Śaṅkarasvāmin, one of the well-known disciples of Diṅnāga. In a recent article contributed to the J. R. A. S.—January 1928 (pp. 7 to 13), Professor Giuseppe Tucci tries to prove that the author of the *Nyāya-praveśa* is not Diṅnāga, but Śaṅkara-svāmin, one of his pupils. Professor Tucci, after drawing attention to the weak points in Professr Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya's arguments, clearly shows how the *Nyāya-praveśa* should dot be confounded, as is generally done, with Diṅnāga's Nyāya-mukha to which Diṅnāga was referring in his vṛtti on the opening verse of his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. It would be desirable to peruse, in this connection,

the subjoined extract from Professor Tucci's article above referred to.

"My friend Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī is opposed to the attribution of the *Nyāya-praveśa* to Śaṅkara-svāmin, since Yuan-Chwang does not quote in his travels the name of this author. But I do not think that this is a decisive objection, because not only was the book translated by the great pilgrim himself, under the name of Śaṅkara-svāmin, but, as can be seen from many passages of the commentaries by Kwei-chi and Shen-t'ai, these Chinese scholars obtained all their information about the authorship and the history of these logical works from none other than their own master."

On the one side, we have the testimony of the Tibetan translations of the *Nyāya-praveśa* and of Haribhadra in favour of ascribing that work to Diṅnāga, as pointed out by Professor Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya. On the other side, we have the obviously weightier testimony of the ancient Chinese authorities, Kwei-chi and Shen-t'ai, who were directly associated with Yuan-Chwang himself, in favour of Professor Tucci's view that Śaṅkara-svāmin is the real author of the *Nyāya-praveśa.* Asagainst these evidences, would it be reasonable to attach any importance to the entry attributing the *Nyāya-praveśa,* to Nāgārjuna, in the catalogue prepared at the end of the nineteenth century by the Japanese Professor Bunyiu Nanjio? Professor Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya has shown how the Japanese Professor might have made a mistake in rendering the Chinese name of the book *Yu-Luṅ.* (Vide p. XII. Introduction to the *Nyāya-praveśa* Part II Gaek. O. S.). Should my learned critic of Trivandrum decide in favour of B. Nanjio's entry attributiug the *Nyāya-praveśa* to Nāgārjuna, all the evidences adduced on behalf of Diṅnāga and Śaṅkara-svāmin notwithstanding, I cannot help feeling that such a procedure would be very similar to decreeing in favour of the witness,—the solitary worthless witness—despite all the weighty arguments adduced on behalf of the two really contending parties.

(2) The considerations which have led scholars like Dr. Vincent Smith (*Vide* Early History of India—Appendix IV to Chapter XII) to conclude that Vasubandhu was a contemporary of Candragupta I and Samudragupta, are irresistible. According to Yuan-Chwang, Vasubandhu lived 'within 1000 years', *not*

'*within the* 900 *years*' after the Nirvāṇa—(Watters, i,pp. 211-214). Thus the end of Vasubandhu's life should be brought down to the last quarter of the 4th Century A. C.; and Diṅnāga, Vasubandhu's disciple, should have lived in the begining of the 5th century A. C. Without doing violence to my standard of measuring time, I am unable to see how I can acquiesce in my learned critic's attempt to assign Diṅnāga to the 2nd century A. C. It should also be remembered that Brahmanical and Buddhist works, on old logic consistently hold that Diṅnāga was posterior to Vātsyāyana, the famous author of the Nyāyabhāṣya. If Śaṅkara-svāmin, who was one of Diṅnāga's pupils, should have been the author of the *Nyāya-praveśa*, as Professor Tucci contends, the Maṇimēkalai, which presupposes the *Nyāya-praveśa* and Diṅnāga's Pramāṇa-samuccaya and which, in the enumeration of Pramāṇas and definition of Pratyakṣa, contains certain improvements that are distinctly post-Diṅnāga and perhaps later than Śaṅkara-svāmin also, cannot be assigned to any date earlier than the 7th century A. C.

(3) In his endeavour to reduce *ētamil*, in the Tamil extract quoted against (3) *supra*, to the level of an emphatic, but logically purposeless, expletive, through the device of statistical interpretation with reference to a goodly number of Tamil citations, my esteemed critic forgets that *ētamil* in a section on logic bristling with precise definitions, not admitting of even a single useless word, is entirely different from the *ētamil* due to metrical or musical or poetic exigencies. A due appreciation of the full significance of the remarks of Vācaspatimiśra quoted at page 196 of this Journal (Vol. I, part II) and of the observations in the first fifteen lines at page 197 (*ibid*) ought to be sufficient to enable my critic to make out why I consider that the Maṇimēkalai should be later than Diṅnāga and earlier than Dharmakīrti.

(4) Indeed *ētamil* has nothing directly to do with the suggested equation of Aṟavaṇavaṭikaḷ with Ācarya Dharmapāla. Nor is there anything in my article under reference to make it appear to my critic that I am satisfied as to the identity suggested. Will my critic kindly note again the query mark in the title of my article referred to and consider again the last sentence at page 197 of Vol. I of this Journal ? If he should choose to concede that the fortunes of Buddhism in Kāñcī and Nālndā need not have been similar in the same period and that, while it was

flourishing in the latter area it might be declining in the former, he would find it easy to imagine that the suggested equation is plausible. Further, when Yuan Chwang visited Nālandā, Śīlabhadra was presiding over it; when that Chinese pilgrim visited Kauśambī, Dharmapāla's monastery there was in ruins. (Vide Beal's Buddhistic Records Vol. I-237); and the account which the pilgrim gives concerning the state of Buddhism in Kañcī during his visit to that city shows that there were signs of a recent revival of that faith there—(Beal's Buddhistic Records II, pp. 229 and 230). I put it to the advocates of the theory that the Śaṅgam age cannot belater than the 3rd century A. D., whether it would not be reasonable to assume, in view of the facts explained by me, that Ācārya Dharmapāla might have returned to Kāñcī after his retirement from Nālandā in the early part of the 7th century A. D., sufficiently long before Yuan Chwang's visit to allow time for Dharmapāla's monastery in Kauśāmbī to fall into ruins, and might have resuscitated Buddhism in Kāñcī and further south. Having regard to all the facts, may not the equation of Aṟavaṇavaṭikaḷ with Dharmapāla be quite plausible ?

It only remains for me to conclude with the hope that historical truth will never be allowed to surrender to *mytho-poetic theories*—the last phrase being advisedly used in the sense recognised in the Oxford Dictionary as well-established, and that scholars of the type of my learned critic, with a reputation for a perfect judicial frame of mind, will always be open to conviction and be prepared to reconsider their views regarding the age of Śaṅgam laterature.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION
OF
SOME IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPTS.

I

Skandasvāmin's Commentary on the Nirukta.

BY

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Devarājayajvan in his commentary on the Nighaṇṭus published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series refers to an older commentary on the same by one Skandasvāmin. Till recently the commentary of the latter was known to the world of scholars only through the references made to it by Devarāja. Fortunately enough, thanks to the peripatetic search party organised under the auspices of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, a complete copy of Skandasvāmin's commentary was brought to light from Malabar. A transcript of the manuscript was made in paper and it is now deposited in the G. O. Mss. Library. A transcript of that manuscript was made for the Adyar Library and the notes given below are based upon that transcript.

The manuscript consists of four volumes with a total of 1675 pages : each page has 14 lines with an average of 16 letters for a line.

From the colophons given below one can easily that the author of the work calls himself by three different names (i.e.) Skandasvāmin, Maheśvara or Ācārya Maheśvara, and Śabarasvāmin. The work itself to known through the following names —Niruktabhāṣyaṭīkā; Nirukta Vṛtti ; Niruktavivaraṇasamuccaya; Niruktabhāṣyavivaraṇa ; and Niruktavivaraṇabhāṣya.

The following colophons occur in the work.

आचार्यमहेश्वरकृतायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 5c
इति महेश्वरविरचितायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 351
महेश्वरविरचिते निरुक्तविरणसमुच्चये	p. 1081
महेश्वरविरचिते निरुक्तभाष्यविवरणे	p. 1149
महेश्वरविरचिता निरुक्तभाष्यटीका	p. 1765
स्कन्दस्वामिकृतायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 118
आचार्यस्कन्दस्वमिकृतायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 178
इति स्कन्दस्वामिविरचितायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 450.
स्कन्दस्वामिकृतायां निरुक्तवृत्तौ	p. 135
आचार्यस्कन्दस्वामिकृतौ निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये	p. 704
स्कन्दस्वामिकृते निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये	p. 377
स्कन्दस्वामिकृते निरुक्तविवरणे	p. 817
स्कन्द्रस्वामिविरचिते निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये	p. 997
शबरस्वामिकृतायां निरुक्तभाष्यटीकायां	p. 277
शबरस्वामिकृते निरुक्तभाष्यसमुच्चये	p 959.
निरुक्तभाष्ये	p. 1253
निरुक्तविवरणे	p. 777
निरुक्तविवरणटीकायां सप्तदशोऽध्यायः समाप्तः	p. 1648
निरुक्तविवरणभाष्ये पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः समाप्तः	p. 1449, 50
निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चये चतुर्दशाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः	p. 1319

Now a Skandasvāmin is known to us as the author of a bhāṣya on the Ṛg. Veda; a Śabarasvāmin is known to have commented on the Jaimini Sūtras; Maheśvara is a comparatively unknown name. The exact identity of this author therefore is a problem which cannot be easily solved. As matters stand at present, we are not able to identify the author of the Nirukta-bhāṣya with the author of the commentary on the Ṛg Veda. In Skandasvāmin's commentary on the Ṛg Veda we find

इति भर्तुः ध्रुवपुत्रस्य स्कन्दस्वामिनः कृतौ ऋग्वेदभाष्ये द्वितीयोऽध्यायः समाप्तः etc.

At the end of Adhyāya eight we find

इति ध्रुवस्वामिसुतस्य स्कन्दस्वामिनः etc.

This tells us that Dhruvasvāmi is the father of Skandasvāmin. At the end of the commentary on the Niruktabhāṣya we find

निरुक्तमन्त्रभाष्यार्थपूर्ववृत्तिसमुच्चयः ।
महेश्वरेण रचितः सूनुना पितृशर्मणः ॥

Vol. IV, p. 1675.

This makes Pitṛśarman as the father of Maheśvara, the author of the commentary on the Nirukta. Even if it is assumed that this author was known through different names (i.e.) Skandasvāmin, Śabarasvāmin, and Maheśvara, it is impossible to identify him with the author of the Ṛg Veda Bhāṣya.

It is needless to point out that he is not the same Śabarasvāmin, the author of the bhāṣya on Jaimini sūtras, for he is later than even Durgācārya whom he mentions at the begining of the commentary on the Nirukta (Vol. I, p. 3).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SANSKRIT SAHITYA PARISAT SERIES NO. 13 THE PAVANDUTA KAVYA OF DHOYI, Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.

We acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of this newly published work as No. 13 of the Samskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Series edited by Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarthi M.A. It is a neatly printed edition with an interesting introduction by the editor himself. As is pointed out in the preface, this seems to be the first correct edition of the work and the Saṁskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat of Bengal certainly did well in publishing it for the benifit of the Sanskrit-reading public. We congratulate the editor Mr. Chakravarti on the distinct service he has rendered to the cause of Sanskrit literature by bringing it out. A perusal of the poem will convince the reader that it occupies a high place in that class of literature commenly known as Dūta Kāvyas which have been practically inspired by the exquisite Lyric of Kālidāsa, the Meghasandeśa. While many of the works of this class have really failed to catch either the spirit or style of the Meghasandeśa, it must be said to the credit of the Poet, Dhoyi, that he has successfully imbibed both. It is a little curious, but gratifying, to note, that a Gauḍa Poet should have mastered the elegance of the Vaidarbhī style. The outline of the Pavandūta resembles in many respects the Meghadūta. But it is somewhat different from the Meghadūta in its poetical and historical background and in its representation of the soliloquy of the beloved instead of that of the lover. The poetic suggestion for the whole of this kind of literature, including even the Meghasandeśa, has come from the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. In the case of the Pavandūta also we may say that the central idea underlying it has been evolved out of the following stanza of the Rāmāyaṇa :

वाहि वात यतः कान्ता तां स्पृष्ट्वा मामपि स्पृश ।
त्वयि मे गात्रसंस्पर्शः चन्द्रे दृष्टिसमागमः ॥

"Blow thou wind ! to where my beloved is and touch me after having gently touched her etc., " .... love-laden words

uttered by Śrī Rāma reclining on the sands of the sea-shore of the southern end of India on the eve of his crossing ever the mighty ocean. Internal evidence of the source of inspiration for the poet is also furnished by the suggestion contained in the 5th stanza of this poem.

वीक्ष्यावस्थां विरहविधुरां रामचन्द्रस्य हेतोः
यातः पारं पवनसरितां पत्युरप्याञ्जनेयः ॥ VI-v-6

The great Ālaṅkārika Bhāmaha has justified the poetic form of this kind of literature, in which inanimate objects of nature have been adressed and chosen as messengers of the lover or beloved, as being the fitting outward representation of the soliloquy emenating from out of the intensity of the Utkaṇṭhā of the Nāyaka or the Nāyikā. Judged from this standpoint, it may be said without fear of contradiction that the Pavanadūta has fulfilled its object and deserves a high place. The striking originality of the Meghasandeśa, however, consists in the beautiful portrayal of the absolute self-abneagation of the Yakṣa, born out of the intensity of his love, which leaves no room for thoughts about himself when all-absorbed in his imaginative outpourings about the condition of his beloved in her separation at the distant city of Alakā. It is this that marks out the Meghasandeśa as a unique poem apart, from the rest of the class. Though, therefore, Dhoyi has not attained that high level, he does not suffer in comparison with any of the other poets of this group and his work is certainly worth the careful study of all students of Sanskrit literature.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE NANA FARNAVIS. By A. Macdonold with an Introduction By H. Rawlinson—ix + 184 pages. Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 5.

The author of this work, Mr. A. Macdonald, Captain in the 18th regiment of the Bombay Native Infantry, during the short snatches of his soldierly career found time to compile this memoir from the records which were found scattered, some in the house of the late widow of Nānā Farnavis, and others in the houses of many of the friends and personal attendants of Nānā. The original edition of this work was published as yearly as 1851

and it went out of print long ago. The present edition is a great improvement on the original for many reasons. The obvious errors, in the form of spelling mistakes and other things have been removed. The Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nānā Farnavis, rendered into English by the late Resident at the Court of Satara Lieut. Col. John Briggs is given in an appendix. This adds much to the value of the edition.

Bālāji Janārdan Bhānu otherwise known through his official name, Nānā Farnavis was born in 1741. Having been subjected by adverse circumstances to great vicissitudes early in his life, Nānā grew up to be a good soldier, a perfect diplomat and acute statesman, and a highly religious man. He has been justly regarded by his countrymen, the Mahārāṣṭras as one of the greatest, or perhaps the greatest statesman of their race. Col. Palmer declared at the time of his death that "with him has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maharatha Government." Through out his public life he was actuated by nothing but feelings of sincere and intense patriotism; and in private, life he was charitable, and virtuous. In spite of some of his weaknesses he was one of the greatest and noblest of politicians that ever lived. He conceived the idea of a Maharatha Empire though he did not live to establish it.

The autobiographical memoir given in the appendix will speak for itself ; it is marked, so far as it goes, with a wealth of detail and it is probably one of the few that were even written in India in the past.

The public are indebted to the Government of Bombay for having rendered this edition available to the scholars in this form.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

THE ASIAN LIBRARY SERIES NO. XIII. THE HINDU COLONY OF CAMBODIA. By Prof. Phaṇīndranāth Bose, M. A. vii + 410. TheosophicalPublishing House, Adyar.

Prof. Phaṇīndranāth Bose continues in this monograph his studies regarding that most interesting chapter of Indian History (i.e.) the colonolial expansion of the Hindus in the past. The Professor is already familiar to us as the author of "Indian

Teachers of Buddhist Universities", "Indian Teachers in China", "Indian Colony of Champa" and "Indian Colony of Siam." Now there is fresh work on the same subject, "Indian Colony of Cambodia.

In this book Prof. Bose deals exhaustively with the origin of the colony of Funan and Cambodia; with its early kings like Bhavavarman, the supreme lord of Ugrapura; Mahendravarman or Citrasena, the glorious master of Earth; Īśānavarman of 627 A. D. and so on. The author traces the various vicissitudes which Cambodia had to pass through in detail. The cultural, and religious history of Cambodia coming at the end of the work are indeed very interesting. The separate development of Śaivism Vaiṣṇavism, and Buddhism, and the fusion of all the three in course of time is set forth beautifully. The book is a welcome addition.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

JOURNAL OF THE BEHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, September—December, 1927.

1. *Hathigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Kharavela*—By *K. P. Jayasval, M.A.*—Mr. Jayasval gives in the article his own readings of the Kharavela inscriptions and shows how his predecessors have wrongly interpreted many words. He is able to settle the actual dynasty to which Kharavela belonged. At the end of the article he discusses the date of Kharavela and comes to the conclusion that at the age 24 Kharavela ascended the throne and that was in 183 B. C. and that the date of the inscription should be 170 B. C. (i.e.) the 13th year of his reign. A short account of some of his doings is also given; the article is concluded with a *Probable Chronology of Kharavela and his times* and a short note on *The Antiquity of Jainism.*

2. *Śuṅga Inscription of Ayodhyā*, By *K. P. Jayasval, M. A.* —Mr. Jayasval gives in this short note a correction to his previous reading of inscription which was already published by him in the same Journal Vol. X; the note is accompanied with a plate.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY. Vol. III, pt. iv, Dec. 1927.

1. *Cāṇakya Sūtrāṇi*, By *Hermann Jacobi.*—Prof. Jacobi here tries to prove that the Cāṇakya Sūtrāṇi published as an appendix to the second Edition of the Arthaśāstra could not have been written by Kauṭalya, the author of the Arthaśāstra.

2. *The Date of Zoroaster*, By *A. B. Keith.*—Dr. Keith is of opinion that the theory of the traditional date of the birth Zoroaster (i.e.) 660 B.C. stands on much better grounds; but he concludes the article saying that evidnces to fix the date more correctly are wanting.

3. *Discovery of a New Historical Stone Horse*, By *Jagannāth Dās Ratnākar.*—The author of this article discovered a stone horse in the village of Nagawa near Benares with some letters inscribed on it. He deciphers the inscription as Candragupta. The horse corresponds to the one found in the Lucknow Museum; the Lucknow horse is intended to commemorate the horse-sacrifice of Samudragupta; and if the horse newly discovered is

with a similar purpose, then it should belong to the son of Samudragupta. Otherwise it may be even earlier. Anyhow the horse is older than 500 A. D.

4. *Origin and Development of Vajrayāna.* By *B. Bhaṭṭācārya.*—This article, based on the Sādhanamālā is a sequel to his paper on the 'Glimpses of Vajrayāna, contributed to the Madras Session of the Oriental conference.

5. *Max Muller's Introduction to the Ṛg Veda-Prātiśākhya.*—This is the second instalment of the translation of the Introduction into English from original German.

6. *Harṣa Śilāditya—A Revised Study* By *Niharrañjan Ray.*—The author deals with Harṣa's accession to the throne; his conquests and the extension of his empire; the fate of his Empire after death.

Incidentally the author refers to the countries Yuan Chwang has mentioned in his Travels. Mayūra's reference to Harṣa having conquered Kuntala, Cola, Kāñcī etc. is proved to be a historical fact.

7. "*Tārānātha's history of Buddhism in India*".—The third instalment of a translation of this work is published.

8. *Age of the Manusaṁhitā*, By *Baṭakrishṇa Ghosh.*—The author tries to prove that in 300 B. C. there was in existence a metrical Manusmṛti.

9. *Town Planning and House Building in Ancient India according to Śilpaśastras*, By *K. Raṅgācāri.*—The author elaborately discusses the methods of Town Planning that were prevalent in Ancient India. The article will continue.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY. Vol. XVIII, No. 2, October, 1927.

"*The Mauryan Invasion of Tamiḻakam*" By *Somasundara Deśikar.*—The author tries to prove in this article that the Mauryan invasion of Tamiḻakam is a myth and that the Tamils of ancient days were free from foreign dominance.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, October, 1927.

1. *Kauśāmbī* By *Dayārām Sāīh.*—The author once again raises the question of the identity of Kauśāmbī, General Cunning-

ham has identified that city with Kośam near Allahabad but Dr. Vincent Smith raised many objections to that theory. Dayārām, on the strength further evidences proves that Kośam alone is the old Kauśāmbī.

2. *A peculiar meaning of Yoga*, By *K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya.*—The author declares that the word Yoga in Vātsyāyana and Uddyotākara means Naiyāyika and not the system of Patañjali.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, August, 1927.

1. *The Śiva Bhārata and the New date of Śivāji*—The Śiva Bhārata is a biography of Śivāji written by a contemporary and probably court poet of Śivāji himself. The date of Śivāji's birth according to this work is corroborated by other evidences also.

2. *In a supplement Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Ordinary University Lectures in The Madras University are printed.* The Lectures bear upon "Studies in Gupta History".

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA, July, 1926.

1. *Mungir Plate of Devapāla. Samvat* 33. By *L. D. Barnett.*—The long lost plates of Devapāla were fortunately discovered somewhere in the Kenwood estate and Dr. Barnett gives a photographic reproduction of the plate as also the transliteration of those plates.

2. *Tekkali Plates of Danaranava's son Indravarman*, By *the Late Dr. E. Hultzsch.*—Dr. Hultzsch here edits these plates photographic reproductions of the plates themselves.

3. *Penukaparu Grant of Jayasihma II.* By *the Late Dr. E. Hultzsch.*—The three plates are edited from an ink impression taken from them by the late Rao Bahadur H. Kṛṣṇa Śastrī. The plates themselves belong to Mr. H. Nāgeśvara Rao, Editor, Āndhra Patrikā.

4. *Koḍavalli Rock Inscriptiou of Caṇḍasāta*, By *the Late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Śāstrī.*—This inscription belongs to the 3rd century and is in Brāhmi characters. The place where the inscriptions are found seems to have been a residence of Buddhist monks and there are traçes of a Stūpa ; an excavation may reveal the Stūpa itself.

Beṭma Plates of Bhojadeva. Samvat 1076. By *D. B. Diskalkar.*—This Bhoja is the famous Bhoja of Dhāra of Śṛṅgāra-

prakāśa fame. Very few epigraphical records of the reign of Bhoja have come to light and consequently this is of great importance.

QUARTERTY JOURNAL OF THE ĀNDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, October, 1927.

The Historical Importance of the Purāṇas, By *S. Bhīma-śaṅkara Rao, B.A.*—The author following Mr. Pargiter declares that there is much historical matter in the Purāṇas and that a careful investigation will reveal many more facts.

Judicial Procedure in Ancient India, Prof. J. Rāmayyā Pantulu, B.A., B.L.—The information given in this article is based on Mādhavācārya's Vyavahāra Kāṇḍa. He deals with the constitution of courts in ancient India; with the various classes of courts ; the officers of the court; the methods of conducting cases; methods of taking evidence; the native and quatification of witnesses; native of various documents; court-fees and so on.

Literary gleanings, By *M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi, M. A.*—Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi gives some information regarding:—

1. *Ruyyaka.*—The identification of Ruyyaka with Rucaka is reaffirmed.

2. *Kṣīrasvāmin.*—The commentator on the Amara is referred to a period after Bhoja and before Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka. (i.e.) 1060—1300. This Kṣīrasvāmin is a native of the modern Uttaramallūr or Uttaramerūr of the Chingleput district. This Kṣīrasvāmin is probably different from the author of a drama Abhinavarāghava.

3. *Jayamaṅgaḷā.*—A number of commentaries under this name are now available. A Jayamaṅgaḷā on the Sāṅkhyakārikā is attributed to one Śaṅkarācārya; another Jayamaṅgaḷā on the Kāmandakanītisāra is attributed to a Śaṅkarācārya; a third Jaya-maṅgaḷā on the Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana goes in the name of Śaṅkara. Mr. Kavi says that all these authors are identical and that this Śaṅkara lived about 1400 A. D. Śaṅkara, the author of the Yogasūtrabhāṣyavivaraṇa also is the same Śaṅkara.

4. *Vindhyavāsin.*—Here the author tries to identify Vindhyavāsin with Vyāḍi, the predecessor of Patañjali.

5. *Bhikṣu.*—The Bhikṣu referred to by commentators on Kumārila is Dharmakīrti.

6. *Vidyāraṇya.*—Vidyāraṇya the great Vedāntin wrote on music also and that work goes by the name of Saṅgītasāra.

7. *Avantisundarī* in Svapnavāsavadatta. Mr. Kavi sees in the word अवन्तिसुन्दरी found in the Svapnavāsavadatta a reference to the Avantisundarī of Daṇḍin.

8. *Sāṅkhyanāyakamādhava.*—An old writer on Sāṅkhya and Kavi identifies him with Māṭhara.

Cheedivalasa Plates of Devendra Varma. By *R. Subba Rao, M. A., L.T.*—Mr. Subba Rao edits the above mentioned plates which are three in number. Devendravarma belongs to about 746 A.D. The author gives a summary of the contents of the inscription and adds a note on the Gaṅgā Chronology.

Kaumudīmahotsava.—The text of the drama Kaumudīmahotsava is edited in a supplement.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW, October, 1927.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya—Its age.

The author tries to show that the Arthaśāstra text is much later than the period of the Mauryas; it probably belongs to the period of the later Guptas.

A LETTER OF APPRECIATION.

SAVOY HOTEL,
Ootacamand,
10—12—27.

Dear Professor Kuppuswami,

I beg you to accept my best thanks for kindly presenting me with the first three numbers of the Journal of Oriental Research. I have perused most of the articles with the greatest interest and much benefit to myself, and I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the originality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in those contributions. I am especially glad to see that you pay attention also to Tamil Literature, which, as proved by several articles in the Journal, is intimately connected in many respects with Sanskrit Literature. I wish you all success for your Journal which, if it is carried on in the same spirit, will certainly be classed among the leading journals devoted to Indian History and Literature.

. . . .

With kind regards,
Yours very sincerely,
H. LUDERS.
Professor of Sanskrit,
Berlin University.

THE AGE OF ŚRĪ MADHUSŪDANA SARASVATĪ.

By

R. KRISHNASWAMI SASTRI, B. A.,

SUB-REGISTRAR, MANNARGUDI.

Śrī Madhusūdana Sarasvatī is a star of first magnitude in the galaxy of Advaitic authors. His encyclopaedic learning, his brilliant dialectics, and his uncompromising advocacy of Advaita have earned for him an abiding place in the list of Sanskrit philosophic writers. Though an adept in the baffling technicalities of modern Nyāya, he keeps in his heart the flame of devotion to Śrī Kṛṣṇa undimmed and in describing the charms of the Lord in his *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* on the Gītā, he often rises to the highest altitudes of genuine eloquence. His *Ānandamandākinī*, a hymn of more than 100 Stanzas in praise of Śrī Kṛṣṇa shows that he is a poet of no mean order. He it was who took up the gauntlet thrown down by Vyāsarājasvāmi in his famous *Nyāyāmṛta* and put forth before a wondering world his *magnum opus* the famous *Advaita Siddhi*, containing a systematic refutation of all the arguments that have been urged against the Advaitavāda. *The Advaita Siddhi* has since maintained its value as a magnificent storehouse of convincing arguments in defence of the Advaitavāda. An intimate knowledge of the works of Śrī Madhusūdana Sarasvatī has, in fact, come to be regarded as the high water-mark of Vedāntic scholarship.

It is a matter for genuine regret that no reliable information is available regarding the age in which he lived and the main incidents of his life. Even the question of his date remains unsettled. We shall, therefore, attempt in the sequel to determine the age in which he lived by an examination of all available evidences both internal and external. Many such attempts have already been made by various scholars to which we should like to make a brief reference at the outset.

(1) The late eminent judge and sanskrit scholar, Kāśināth Trimbak Telang of Bombay, discussed the question before the

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1874. We have not been able to have a look at these papers. We find a *bona fide* reference to the subject in the following passage in Mr. V. N. Naik's small brochure :—

" In the same year (1874) he read two learned papers (1) on the Cālukya Copper plates (2) on the Date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the author of Gītā Gūḍhārthadīpikā. In this paper he combated the views of Lassen and Burnouf that Madhusūdana lived in the XVI century A. C. Telang came to the conclusion that he flourished in the reign of Aurangazeb *either at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century*" (*Kāśīnāth Trimbak Telang* p. 67). There is evidently some confusion of thought in the portions italicised above. Aurangzeb ruled between 1658 and 1707 A. D. We may not be wrong if we assume that according to Mr. Telang Madhusūdana Sarasvatī lived in the latter half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century A. D.

(2) The next attempt to determine the age of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī is contained in the Sanskrit introduction to Bopadeva's *Harilīlā Viveka* with Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Commentary published in the Calcutta Oriental Series. Paṇḍit Īśvara Candra the writer of the introduction claims to be a lineal descendant of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and states that his information is based upon " Vaidika Vāda Mīmāṁsā " a family history of the western Vaidika Brahmans of the Kāśyapa Gotra living in Bengal. According to this history Madhusūdana Sarasavatī was a contemporary of Tulasīdās, the great Hindi poet and devotee (1532 to 1620 A. D.).

(3) In the Introduction (pp. 4 to 6) to the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manusucripts acquired for the Government Sanskrit College Benares during 1918-1919, Mr. Gopināth Kavirāj M.A. the present principal of the College writes as follows :—

"Being as I take him (Madhusūdana Sarasvatī,) to be, on the strength of evidence furnished by Puruṣottama a pupil of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, a contemporary of Nṛsimhāśramā, both of whom are said to have been defeated in argument by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in a public controversy, he may be placed in the middle of the 16th Century; for Śiromaṇi's date is about 1520 A. D. and

Nṛsimhāśrama completed his *Vedānta Tattvaviveka* in Samvat 1604 or 1547 A.D.".

(4) In his learned introduction to the महाविद्याविडम्बन of Vadīndra (p. XXVI) published in the Gaiekwad Oriental Series, Mr. M. R. Telang assigns Madhusūdana Sarasvatī to 1700 A. D. without assigning reasons for his view.

(5) In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute Vol. VIII. Part II (1926-27) there is a learned article on "Madhusūdana Sarasvatī : His Life and Works" by Prahlad C. Divanji, M.A., L. L. M. After a careful examination of all the avilable evidences, he concludes that "Madhusūdana must have lived in the latter half of the 16th and the former of the 17th century". Having thus summarised the literature (available to us) on the subject we shall now proceed to state our view of the matter. We hold that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī must be assigned to *the last three quarters of the seventeenth centuary A. D.* Our view is based on the following considerations :—

(A) It is well known that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī wrote his *Advaita Siddhi,* in answer to Vyāsarājasvāmi's *Nyāyāmṛta.* Vyāsarājasvāmi lived between 1446 and 1539 A. D. Supposing that a period of 50 years should at last have elapsed between the writers, we may assign Madhusūdana Sarasvatī to the end of the 16th centuary A. D. at the earliest.

(B) Similarly, we can see that the *Advaitaratnarakṣaṇa* was written as a reply to Śaṅkara Miśra's *Bhedaratna.*[1] Śaṅkara Miśra intended his *Bhedaratna* as a counterblast to Śri Harṣa's खण्डनखण्डखाद्य. He says

[1]Śaṅkara Miśra's भेदरत्न appears to have received another rejoinder in Mallanārādhya's अभेदरत्न or अद्वैतरत्न which was commented upon by Nṛsimhāśramā in his तत्त्वदीपन (Vide Nos. 4524 and 4525 in Vol X of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Government Oriental Library Madras). Mallanārādhya says,

अभेदस्य परित्राणे रत्नस्याचार्यशङ्कराः ।
यामिकास्तेन तन्मार्गाद्युक्तं हस्तेन वारणम् ॥"

This अभेदरत्न is the same as the one referred to by Rāmakṛṣṇa Dīkṣita in his वेदान्तपरिभाषाशिखामणि (p. 295 of the Śrī Veṅkateśwara Press Edition). It may be noted that Dharma Rāja Dīkṣita, Rāmakṛṣṇa's father and author of the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* refers to Nṛsimhāśrama as his *paramaguru.*

"भेदरत्नपरित्राणे तार्किका एव यामिकाः ।
अतो वेदान्तिनः स्तेनान्निरस्यत्येष शङ्करः ॥

To this Madhusūdana Sarasvatī rejoins in the following verse :—

अद्वैतरत्नरक्षायां तात्त्विका एव यामिकाः ।
अतो न्यायविदः स्तेनान्निरस्यामः स्वयुक्तिभिः ॥

Śaṅkara Miśra lived after 1529 A. D. as pointed out by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganganath Jha in his introduction to Śaṅkara Miśra's *Vādivinoda* published in the *Śyāmacharan Sanskrit Series*, Allahabad.

(C) The learned writer of the introduction to the हरिलीलाविवेक states that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī wrote a commentary on the सिद्धान्तलेशसङ्ग्रह of Appayya Dīkṣita whose date has been fixed beyond any possibility of doubt to be between 1554 and 1626 A. D. If with Mr. P. C. Divanji we assume an interval of 50 years to have elapsed between Appayya Dīkṣita and his commentator, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī should be assigned to the 2nd quarter of the 17th Century A. D. The term वेदान्तशास्त्र occurring in the introductory verse of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's सिद्धान्तबिन्दु is explained by Brahmānanda Sarasvatī in his न्यायरत्नावलि as follows:- शारीरकमीमांसाचतुरध्यायी । तद्भाष्य-तदीयटीकावाचस्पत्य-तदीयटीकाकल्पतरु-तदीयटीकापरिमलरूपग्रन्थपञ्चकेत्यर्थः. Thus according to Brahmānanda Sarasvatī whose authority cannot be lightly brushed aside, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī came after Appayya Dīkṣita the author of वेदान्तकल्पतरुपरिमल. In this connection we may also note the benedictory verse of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Bhaktirasāyana

"पदनखनिविष्टमूर्तेरेकादशतामिवावहन्निष्ठाम् ।
यं समुपास्ते गिरिशस्तं वन्दे नन्दमन्दिरे कञ्चित् ॥

On the very face of it this stanza appears to have been intended as a refutation of the superiority of Śiva maintaind by Appayya Dīkṣita in some of his controversial works.

(D) We now come upon what we confidently regard as the most positive peice of evidence regarding the age of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. In his commentary on संक्षेपशारीरक of सर्वज्ञात्मन् Madhusūdana Sarasvatī adversely criticises Rāmatīrtha's interpretation contained in his commentary on the same work, as

may be seen from the following passages from the two writers which are placed side by side for purposes of easy reference :—

I

रामतीर्थः	मधुसूदनसरस्वती
अभितः सर्वात्मना श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहासपुराणैस्तात्पर्येणोपपादितस्वभावेन, आभिमुख्येन वा प्रत्यगभेदलक्षणेन स्तवीमि स्तवनं करोमि—तत्त्वरूपनिरूपणपरं ग्रन्थं करोमि इत्यर्थः (सं. शा. I. 1.	तत्स्तुतिरूपं तत्स्वरूपनिरूपणपरं ग्रन्थं करोमीत्यर्थ इत्यन्ये (सं. श. I. 1.)

II

भूमभावो ब्रह्मभावः। अत्र भूमशब्दो न भाववचनः। किन्तु "भूमा सम्प्रसादादध्युपदेशात्" इति न्यायेनाखण्डब्रह्मवचन इति विवक्षित्वा भूमभावेत्युक्तमिति द्रष्टव्यम् (सं. शा. I. 2.)	भूम्नो भाव इति व्याख्यानमनुपादेयम्। बहोर्भावस्य भूमशब्दवाच्यत्वेन भावशब्दवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः (सं. शा. I. 2.)

III

अत्र यदिशब्दप्रयोगादभ्युपगमवादताऽस्य पक्षस्य द्योतिता (सं. शा. I. 169.)	अत्रानिश्चितार्थयदिशब्दस्वारस्येन प्रौढिवादोऽयं ग्रन्थकारस्येति केचित् (सं. श. I. 169.)

IV

किलेत्यनयोः पक्षयोः स्वस्यारुचिं सूचयति (सं. शा. I. 174)	अत्र केचित् किलशब्दाभ्यामस्वारस्यं द्योतितं....इति (सं. शा. I. 174.)

The comments of the two authors on सङ्क्षेपशारीरक I. 292 and II. 75 may also be consulted in this connection. It will therefore be clear that the date of Rāmatīrtha would supply an upper limit before which Madhusūdana Sarasvatī could not be placed. Now, when did Rāmatīrtha live? Anantadeva, the author of सिद्धान्ततत्त्व, a short treatise on Advaita, refers to Rāmatīrtha as his guru.

यच्छ्रीमद्रामतीर्थेभ्यः सम्प्रदायसमागतम्।
श्रुतं सत्तर्कसचिवं विविच्य तदिहोच्यते ॥

इत्थं परिव्राजकपूज्यपादश्रीरामतीर्थानुसृतिप्रसादात् ।
सिद्धान्ततत्त्वं गतवाग्विवादमनन्तदेवेन मुदा न्यरूपि ॥

This Anantadeva was the father of Āpadeva, the author of the famous मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश and बालबोधिनी a commentary on Sadānanda's *Vedānta Sāra.* Āpadeva's son Anantadeva was the author of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ, भाट्टालङ्कार and other works. As he himself says in his स्मृतिकौस्तुभ, he was a protege of Baj Bahadur, a chieftain of Kurmācala whom Prof. Jolly has assigned to the period 1644-1664 A. D. The following genealogical table is given for facility of referenee :—

Anantadeva (author of सिद्धान्ततत्त्व and disciple of Rāmatīrtha.)

Āpadeva (author of मीमांसान्यायप्रकाश and बालबोधिनी)

Anantadeva II (author of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ, भाट्टालङ्कार etc.,) a protege of Baj Bahadur (1644-1664 A. D.).

Hence we may be justified in placing Rāmatīrtha two generations before Anantadeva II, about the close of the 16th century A. D.; and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī who criticises Rāmatīrtha could not have flourished before the close of the 16th century A. D.

Here we should like to remark in passing that the learned paṇḍit, who edited the सिद्धान्ततत्त्व in the Benares *Paṇḍit* series, identifies the author of सिद्धान्ततत्त्व with Anantadeva II. But this identification is wrong for the following reasons :—

(a) Anantadeva II says at the beginning of his स्मृतिकौस्तुभ that his father Āpadeva was the author of न्यायप्रकाश and that his grandfather Anantadeva I. wrote the सिद्धान्ततत्त्व

मीमांसानयकोविदो मधुरिपोः सेवासु नित्योद्यतो
विद्यादानविभावितोत्तमयशा आसीत्तदीयात्मजः ।
यस्यानन्तगुणैरनन्त इति सन्नामार्थवत्तां गतं
येनावादि च वादिनां श्रुतिशिरःसिद्धान्ततत्त्वं मुदे ॥
न्यायप्रकाशकर्ता निरवधिविद्यामृतप्रदः सततम् ।
मीमांसाद्वयनयवित्तनयस्तस्यां पदे वोऽभूत् [?] ॥

(b) Again, Āpadeva quotes the following passages in his बालबोधिनी and introduces them with the words "तदुक्तं तातचरणैः"

and "अत्रास्मद्गुरवः, ऐहिकपारलौकिकफलेच्छाविरोधिचेतोवृत्तिविशेषात्मको विरागः" and "नाज्ञानसमष्टिरीश्वरोपाधिः" and these passages are respectively found on pages 30 and 47 of Anantadeva's सिद्धान्ततत्त्व। [1]

Let us now return to our main enquiry. We have seen that Rāmatīrtha's date supplies the upper limit of the age of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. We shall now proceed to determine whether a lower limit can also be fixed. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's famous kārikā—

"तस्यैवाहं ममैवासौ स एवाहमिति त्रिधा ।
भगवच्छरणत्वं स्यात् साधनाभ्यासपाकतः ॥"

which occurs in his Gītāgūḍhārthadīpikā XVIII. 66. is found quoted by Haridīkṣita in his commentary on Śivagītā (XIV-43.). Haridīkṣita was also the author of a ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्ति, published in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series. At the end of this work, Haridīkṣita himself gives the date of its completion.

गजेषुरसभूसंख्ये (१६५८) शकेऽब्दे चानलाह्वये ॥
ज्येष्ठशुक्लत्रयोदश्यां ग्रन्थः सिद्धिमगादयम ॥

This year corresponds to 1736 A.D. It will be thus clear that by the beginning of the 18th century A. D. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's writings had become famous enough to be quoted as authoritative. Hence the conclusion irresistibly follows that he flourished in the last three quarters of the 17th century A. D. and it is gratifying to note that this view is fully corroborated by the statement of Īśvara Candra in his introduction to हरिलीलाविवेक that about Śaka 1600 (1678 A. D.) the Emperor of Delhi sent for Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who vanquished the Paṇḍits of the Royal Court in a public controversy. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was therefore alive in 1678 A. D. Mr. K. T. Telang's view quoted above, that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was a contemporary of Aurangzeb, is also fortified by the results of our independent enquiry.

In conclusion we should like to add a few words regarding Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's place of nativity. According to the *Vaidika Vāda Mīmāṁsā*, he was a Kanouj Brahman whose ancestors had migrated from their original home and settled at Navadvīpa in the East Bengal. In his *Gītāgūḍhartha Dīpikā* (VI. 34.)

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1. In my introduction to the *Advaitamakaranda* published by the Śrīraṅgam Śrī Vāṇī Vilas Press I have adopted the erroneous identification of Anantadeva II with the author of सिद्धान्ततत्त्व ।

he makes the following interesting statement तन्तुनागो नागपाश: तांतनीति गुर्जरादौ प्रसिद्ध: महाह्रदनिवासी जंतुविशेषो वा । This naturally leads one to suppose that his mother tongue was Guzarati. We can however reconcile the two statements by positing that he was a Guzarati Brahman whose ancestors had migrated to Bengal but did not forget to cultivate their original mother tongue in their new home. Mr. P. C. Divanji makes the following curious statement—But as he had adopted the appellation "Sarasvatī" which is found to be in vogue in the north, his commentator Brahmānanda Sarasvatī calls him a "Gauḍa Brahmaṇa". In the first place we have not come across any such passage in Brahmānanda Sarasvatī's works. And in the second place Mr. Divanji ignores the fact that "Sarasvatī" is but the name of one of the ten orders of Smārta Sanyāsins. The appellation "Sarasvatī" is as common in the south as in the north. Śaṅkarānanda Sarasvatī, Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī, Sadāśivendra Sarasvatī and Svayamprakāśānanda Sarasvatī were all inhabitants of South India.

In a further article we shall give a systematic and critical review of all the extant works of Śrī Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

COMPOUNDS IN TAMIL LANGUAGE.

BY

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Tolkāppiyaṉār classifies compounds or[1] tokai moḻi under six heads[2] :—*Vēṟṟumaittokai*, *uvamaittokai*, *viṉaittokai*, *paṇputtokai*, *ummaittokai* and *aṉmoḻittokai*. Veṟṟumaittokai[3] is that in which the members which form the compound stand in case-relation to each other as *poṟ-kuṭam* (gold-pot). It corresponds to *tatpuruṣa* in Sanskrit. Uvamaittokai[4] is that in which one member is compared to another as *pon-mēṉi* (gold-appearance). It corresponds to upamānapūrvapada-karmadhāraya. Viṉaittokai[5] is that in which the first member is a participle denoting time and the second member is the noun which it qualifies as *kol-yāṉai* (elephant that kills, killed or will kill). It corresponds to a part of viśēṣaṇa-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya. Paṇputtokai[6] is that in which the first member is generally a quality denoting colour, shape, extent, taste etc., and the second a noun which has that quality as *karuṅ-kutirai* (black horse). This also corresponds to a part of viśēaṇa-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya. Ummaittokai[7] is that in which each has two or more members, the

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1 It may be interesting to note that *tokai* in Tamil and *samāsa* in Sanskrit convey the same sense.

2 வேற்றுமைத் தொகையே யுவமத் தொகையே
வினையின் றொகையே பண்பின் றொகையே
யும்மைத்தொகையே யன்மொழித் தொகையென்
றவ்வா றென்ப தொகைமொழி நிலையே. (தொல். சொல். 412).

3 வேற்றுமைத் தொகையே வேற்றுமை யியல. (தொல். சொல். 413).

4 உவமத் தொகையே யுவம வியல. (தொல். சொல். 414).

5 வினையின் றொகுதி காலத் தியலும். (தொல். சொல். 415).

6 வண்ணத்தின் வடிவி னளவிற் சுவையினென்
றன்ன பிறவு மதன்குண நுதலி
யின்ன திதுவென வரூஉ மியற்கை
யென்ன கிளவியும் பண்பின் றொகையே. (தொல். சொல். 416).

7 இருபெயர் பலபெய ரளவின் பெயரே
யெண்ணியற் பெயரே நிறைப்பெயர்க் கிளவி
யெண்ணின் பெயரோ டவ்வறு கிளவியுங்
கண்ணிய நிலைத்தே யும்மைத் தொகையே. (தொல். சொல். 417).

members being connected with one another by 'and' and denoting persons, measures, numbers, weights etc., as *puli-vir̲-keṇṭai* (tiger, bow and keṇṭai fish) etc. It corresponds to dvandva in Sanskrit. An̲mol̲ittokai[1] is the possessive compound, the members of which may stand to each other in any of the three relations—quality-noun relation, conjunctive relation and case-relation. It corresponds to Bahuvrīhi in Sanskrit.

It may be noted here that the *number* of compounds in Tamil agree with that of *primary* compounds in Sanskrit and the names given to them in Tamil are more suggestive of their function than those in Sanskrit. These compounds are treated in syntax as though they are single words[2].

The above classification of Tolkāppiyan̲ār is fairly exhaustive; but such compounds as *karu-nir̲am*, *cārai-p-pāmpu*, where both the members are either qualities or names which denote the genus and species of the same object, are not taken into account; but Cēn̲āvaraiyar explains in his commentary on the same sūtra that they too are paṇputtokai, on the strength of the expression *en̲n̲a-kiḷaviyum*, which means 'similar words', in the sūtra.

All the later grammarians, except the authors of Vīracōl̲iyam and Pirayōkavivēkam, i. e., the authors of Nēminātam, Nan̲n̲ūl, Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam and Ilakkaṇakkottu agree, as regards the classification of compounds, with Tolkāppiyan̲ar. And Nan̲n̲ūlār tries to improve upon Tolkāppiyan̲ār as regards the definition of paṇputtokai[3] so that it may apply to compounds like *karu-nir̲am*, *cārai-p-pāmpu* etc.

But the author of Vīracōl̲iyam, who lived at the time of Vīrarājēndra Cōḷa (1062 to 1070 A. D.) and preceded Nannūlar, saw that a large number of Sanskrit compounds like *anīti*, *anittiyam* etc., were freely used in Tamil and they, along with some

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1 பண்பு தொகவருஉங் கிளவி யானு
மும்மை தொக்க பெயர்வயி னானும்
வேற்றுமை தொக்க பெயர்வயி னானு
மீற்றுநின் றியலு மன்மொழித் தொகையே. (தொல்.சொல்.418).

2 எல்லாத் தொகையு மொருசொன் னடைய. (தொல். சொல். 420).

3 பண்பை விளக்கும் மொழிதொக் கனவும்
ஒருபொருட்கு இருபெயர் வந்தவும் குணத்தொகை. (நன். 365.)

Tamil compounds like *karu-ni<u>r</u>am, pa<u>n</u><u>n</u>iru-toṭi,te<u>n</u>-kiḷakku*, could not be directly explained with the rules on compounds stated by Tolkāppiya<u>n</u>ār. Hence he began to classify them exactly in the same way as is done in Sanskrit :—*ta<u>r</u>puruṭan* (tatpuruṣa) *palancl* (bahuvrīhi), *ka<u>n</u>matārayam* (karmadhāraya), *tuviku* (dvigu), *tuvantuvam* (dvandva) and *avviyapāva* (avyayībhāva)[1]. Some may say that he might have left out *avviyapāva* since examples for it are very rare ; it is true, but such words as *yatākkiramam*, the tadbhava of Skt. *yathākrama*, are sometimes found and they have to be explained.

The most important point to be noted in Vīracō<u>l</u>iyam, as also in Pirayōkavivēkam whose author closely follows that of Vīracō<u>l</u>iyam with some difference here and there, is that most of the stanzas found in the chapter dealing with compounds *tokaippaṭalam*, in both are exactly the translation of the kārikās on samāsa assigned to the authorship of Vararuci in Sanskrit. They are as follows :—

Vararuci

षोढा समासास्सङ्क्षेपादेकत्रिंशद्विधाः पुनः ।
तत्राष्टधा तत्पुरुषः सप्तधा कर्मधारयः ॥
सप्तधा च बहुव्रीहिर्द्विगुराभाषितो द्विधा ॥
द्वन्द्वश्चतुर्विधो ज्ञेयोऽव्ययीभावस्त्रिधा मतः ॥

Vīracō<u>l</u>iyam

தற்புருடன்பல நெற்கன்மதாரயந் தாங்கியசீர்
நற்றுவிகுத்தொகை நாவார்துவந்துவ நல்லதெய்வச்
சொற்பயன்மாந்தர்க ளவ்வியபாவ மிதென்றுதொன்மை
கற்பமகமாப்பகர்ந் தார்தொகையாறுங் கனங்குழையே.
(வீரசோ. தொகை, 2.)

Pirayōkavivēkam

தற்புருடன்றுவிகுப்பல நெற்கர்ம தாரயனே
டுற்பல வாணெடுங் கட்பசுந் தேமொழி யொண்டொடியாய்
சொற்பயி லவ்வி யயீபாவ மேனைத் துவத்தனெனக்
கற்பவர் கூறுஞ் சமாசன்க ளேதொகைக் கட்டளையே.
(பிரயோக. மாச. 3.)

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1 தற்புருடன்பல நெற்கன்மதாரயந் தாங்கியசீர்
நற்றுவிகுத்தொகை நாவார்துவந்துவ நல்ல தெய்வச்
சொற்பயன்மாந்தர்க ளவ்வியபாவ மிதென்றுதொன்மை
கற்பகமாப்பகர்ந் தார்தொகையாறுங் கனங்குழையே.
(வீரசோ. தொகை. 2.)

तत्पुरुषोऽष्टविधोऽभूत्प्रथमादिविभक्तिनञ्कृतैर्भेदैः ।

....

स चैकवद्भाव्यनेकवद्भावीति द्विधा द्विगुः ॥

எழுவாய்முதலெழு வேற்றுமையோடு மெழுந்தடையில்
வழுவாதநஞ்ஞொடெட் டாந்தற்புருடன் வளர்துவிகு
தழுவார்ந்தவெண்மொழி முன்னுய்வருந் தத்திதப்பொருண்மேற்
குழுவாரொருமை யொப்புப்பன்மை யொப்புக்குறி யிரண்டே.

(வீரசோ. தொகை. 3.)

தற்புரு டத்தொகை வேற்றுமை யெட்டனுட் சார்ந்த நஞ்ஞுச்
சொற்பொரு ளன்மை மறையின்மை காட்டுந் தொகைத்துவிகு
முற்பத மெண்பிற் பதந்தத்திதார்த்த முடித்துமெழூஉம்
பற்பல வேகவற் பாவியநேகவற் பாவியென்றே.

(பிரயோக. சமாச. 4.)

सप्तभिराख्याभिर्वा विख्यातो यस्स वै बहुव्रीहिः ।

....

द्वाभ्यां पदाभ्यां बहुभिः पदैर्वा सङ्ख्याभिधाय्यन्त्यपदं द्वयं वा ।
यस्याभवत्पूर्वपदे सहश्च दिगन्तरालव्यतिहारलक्ष्मा ॥

இருமொழிபன்மொழி பின்மொழி யெண்ணேடிருமொழியெண்
மருவும் விதியா ரிலக்கண மற்றைச் சகமுன்மொழி
பரவுந்திகந்தரா ளத்தொகையன்னப் பலநெற்றொகை
விரியுமோரேழவை வேற்றுமொழிப் பொருண் மெல்லியலே.

(வீரசோ. தொகை. 4.)

இருமொழி பன்மொழி பின்மொழி யெண்ணே டிருமொழியெண்
டருமொழி யொற்றொழி திக்கந் தாளஞ் சகமுனிற்கு
மொருமொழி யேனைவிதி காலக்கணத்தோடு வரும்
பெருமொழி யாகிவெகு விரியன் மொழிப்பே ரடைந்தே.

(பிரயோக. சமாச. 7).

कविभिस्सप्तविधस्स्यादित्येवं कर्मधारयः कथितः ।

....

विशेषणं पूर्वपदे विशेष्यं तयोभयत्रापि विशेषणं च ।
यस्योपमानं परतस्तदादौ सम्भावना चाप्यवधारणा च ॥

முன்மொழிப்பண்பு மிருமொழிபண்பு மொழிந்தமைந்த
பின்மொழியொப்பொடுமுன்மொழியொப்பும்பிணக்கொன்றிலா
முன்மொழிநற்கருத் தின்முன்மொழிநற் றுணிவு மென
நன்மொழியார்கன்ம தாரயமீரேன்ன நாட்டினரே.

(வீரசோ. தொகை. 5.)

முன்மொழிப் பண்பிரு பண்பு விசேடிய முன்மொழிதன்
முன்மொழித் துல்லியம் பின்மொழித் துல்லியமொய்குழலாய்
முன்மொழிச் சம்பா வனையவ தாரண முற்றுமிவை
நன்மொழிப் பண்புத் தொகைக் கன்ம தாரய னற்றமிழ்க்கே.
(பிரயோக. சமாச. 5.)

[Here the author of Vīracōḻiyam omitted the class where the noun qualified by the adjective stands as the first member of the compound (विशेष्यं पूर्वपद) since, perhaps, it was difficult for him to find an example for it in Tamil language; and hence he stated that Kaṉmatārayam is of 6 kinds, instead of 7 as found in Sanskrit But the author of Pirayōkavivēkam has included it also and gives தெய்வப்புலவன் திருவள்ளுவன் as an example for it.]

यत्राव्ययं पूर्वपदं यथा वा सुबन्तमाहो द्वितयं सुबन्तम् ।
पूर्वोऽपि मुख्यो बहुशः पदार्थस्तथाव्ययीभावमितीरयन्ति ॥
स हि द्वन्द्वश्चतुर्धा स्याद्बुधैरिति विनिश्चितः ।
इतरेतरयोगाख्यः समाहाराह्वयस्तथा ॥

1 முன்மொழியவ்வியஞ்சேர் தொகை பேர்முன் மொழித்தொகை
சொன்மொழியவ்விய பாவ மருவுந் துவந்துவமும் [யே
வன்மொழியாமிதி ரேதாம் வாய்ந்த சமாகாரமா
நன்மொழியானுரைத் தார்கள் சமாச நறுநுதலே.
(வீரசோ. தொகை. 6.)

முன்மொழிப் பேர்ச்சொ லிடைச்சொ லிரண்டு முாணி நிற்குந்
தன்மொழி யவ்வி யயீபாவ மும்மைச் சகாரத்திலே
யின்மொழித் தொந்தன்[2] சமாகாரத்தோடிதரேதாமா
மன்மொழித் தோற்றமுஞ் சமுச்சயத் தோடுமன் வாசயமே.
(பிரயோக. சமாச. 6.)

तत्पुरुषोऽष्टविधोऽभूत्.... ।
उत्तरपदजनितार्थः प्रायो मुख्यः........ ॥
.... द्विगुः ।
अस्यापि पण्डितैरन्तर्भावस्तत्पुरुषे मतः ॥

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1 He has not mentioned that class of avyayībhāva where the members are nouns, as madhyegāram since such words have not been taken into Tamil language.

2 Cf. Bhattōji Dīkṣita's vṛtti on चार्थे द्वन्द्वः—'समुच्चयान्वाचयेतरेतरयोगसमाहाराश्चार्थाः

.... कर्मधारयः कथितः ।
तत्पुरुषान्तर्भावात्तद्वत्प्राधान्यमीरितं चास्य ॥
प्राधान्यं प्रायशोऽस्मिन्नुभयोः स्यात्पदार्थयोः ।
स हि द्वन्द्वः...............................

தற்புரு டன்றுவி குக்கர்ம தாரயன் ருமுதன்மை
பிற்பத மாமெழு வாயா மொரூஉத்தொகை பெண்ணணங்கே
முற்பத மவ்விய யயீபாவ மொப்புமுறை பிறழுஞ்
சொற்பதந் தொக்கவை யெல்லா முதன்மை துவந்தனுக்கே.

(பிரயோக. சமாச. 8.)

The statement '*அவ்வியயீபாவ மொப்புமுறை பிறழும்*' which means that the relative importance of the first or second member in avyayībhāva and upamita samāsa will change, is made on the strength of the words **प्रायः** and **बहुशः** in '**उत्तरपदजनितार्थः प्रायो मुख्यः**' and '**पूर्वोऽपि मुख्यो बहुशः पदार्थः**' respectively. The author of Vīracōḻiyam, having dealt with this classification of compounds in 5 stanzas, mentions also the classification made by Tolkāppiyaṉār as the opinion of a class of Tamilians.

The only point of difference between these two kinds of classification is only with respect to avyayībhāva and nañtatpuruṣa, since other tatpuruṣas, dvandva and bahuvrīhi are identically the same as vēṟṟumaittokai, ummaittokai and aṉmoḻittokai, though with different names, and karmadhāraya and dvigu may somehow or other be brought under uvamattokai, viṉaittokai and paṇputtokai.

BUDDHADATTA.

By

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Buddhadatta, the father of Buddhist Exegetical Literature, flourished in South India about the 4th Century A. D. He unquestionably belongs to a generation of scholars earlier than the reputed Buddhaghoṣa whose Pāli commentaries have obtained great publicity and acceptance during the last 800 years and more to the detriment of Buddhadatta's works. These latter have been of late subjected to so much neglect that there is not a single monastery in Burma to my knowledge, where the works are studied or taught at the present day. So complete has been the eclipsing af Buddhadatta, by the fame of his over-rated successor.

Tradition has taught that the two great commentators lived at the same time and that their works were almost synchronous in point of their composition. Even apart from the fabulous element in the Burmese (Buddhaghosuppatti) account, a close student of Pāli Literature will find in it very little indeed that may be reconciled with the simplest canons of textual criticism. In early Pāli Literature, it is always true that the more prolix the style, the later the work. Buddhadatta's works are all marked by a highly epigrammatic style which had its vogue during the early centuries of the Christian Era. Again Buddhadatta's mode of presenting his matter is further evidence of the priority of his works. It is different from, though as valuable as, that of the patiniddesā, the method of Buddhaghoṣa's expositions.

The attempt to make the two teachers contemporaries of each other is rendered still more difficult by a statement in the epilogue to the Sammoha vinodanī, ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa. The statement in question asserts that the work was undertaken at the instance of another Buddhaghoṣa, so that there were at least 2 Buddhaghoṣas living about the 4 or 5th Century A. D. Buddhadatta was not only a predecessor of Buddhaghoṣa but one whose works are presupposed by, and paved the way for, the works of Buddhaghoṣa.

The Śāsanālaṅkāra, following the tradition, makes them both co-contemporaries of the Talaing king San Lan Krom, who ruled at Arimaddanapura in Burma, the modern Pagan on the banks of the Irrawaddy. This San Lan Krom was in all probability a member of the Śālaṅkāyana Dynasty of kings who, as far as historical records (most of them copper-plates) prove, from the time of Samudragupta till 350 A. D. continued to be kings (Mahārājāhs) at Veṅgipura, on the Coromandel coast, noted for their naval power and maritime commerce. The same kings seem to have extended their patronage to the Buddhist Clergy resident at Kāñcīpura and elsewhere in their dominions. It is also noteworthy that this same San Lan Krom is credited with the introduction of Buddhism into Burma.

The fact that the Śālaṅkāyana kings are not mentioned in the works of Buddhadatta, however, cannot tell us much, not even that Buddhadatta himself had never travelled up to Burma, where amongst the Clergy his works soon grew popular and came to be used in the chief monasteries; for the name of the Ceylonese king of the period, too, is absent in his chief commentaries. All these, however, contain a reference to a ruler at Uragapura the modern Uraiyūr,[1] then a flourishing port on the banks of the Kāverī Delta. To Accuta Vikrama of the Kadamba line of kings, Buddhadatta, though a clergyman, had attached himself as a minister according to the prevailing custom there. Ilandatta, the name under which Buddhadatta is known to Tamil Buddhists, is mentioned with due deference in early Tamil Literature, as the chief advisor of the ruling king at Uraiyūr. In the light of this evidence, we can explain why from his works, the names of other contemporary kings have been excluded and all the tribute of the acknowledgement is paid to his official patron. Kings of Ancient India, especially those in the south, have regularly had for such advisors or ministers, competent scholars who might be Brahmins or monks.

By birth, Buddhadatta belonged to India, though to Ceylon is due the credit of giving him his education. His own words

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1 It should be remembered in this connection that the correct view seems to be that *Uragapura* in Sanskrit does not correspond to Uraiyūr but corresponds to the old *Ālavāy* or the Sanskritised *Hālāsya* which answers to the modern Madura in the South. Kālidāsa mentions *Uragapura* in verse 59 of canto, VI which corresponds to the modern Madura. S. *K. Sastri.*]

lead us to think that he was born in a Brahmin family at Uragapura, the flourishing seaport which swarmed with metropolitan markets, and men of all nationalities. It is situated at the head of the Kāverī Delta and in the first centuries of the Christian Era could be reached by flat-bottomed coasting vessels. It was the capital of the Cola country which was proverbial for its fertility of soil, luxuriant vegetation and extensive fields.

Buddhadatta has not left us much information about his boyhood. We must surmise that he received the usual Brahminical training in his childhood and acquired from his parents the love of truth and a thirst for knowledge and above all his inimitable courage of conviction. His intimate knowledge of certain Brahmin customs and speculations would lead us to believe that it was acquired before his conversion to Buddhism and before the restrictive rules of Buddhist monachism could effectively narrow his vision of the outer world.

We next find him as a member of the local clergy, residing at the Kelasa Vihāra, on a hill a mile from Uragapura, built by Kanhadāsa or Venhugopa, another Kadamba King of a previous generation. This Venhudāsa is the same Viṣṇudāsa, whose conversion of the Cola King is detailed in the 10th Chapter of Viṣṇupurāṇa. He does not however seem to have won any degree of distinction at Kelasa Vihāra about this period. He must have felt that his education could not be completed without a trip across the channel to Ceylon and an intercourse with the monks of Anūrādhāpura, whose fame of Buddhist scholarship reached, even at that early time, such remote places as China and Tibet. Accordingly Buddhadatta crossed the seas, by native sailing vessels and arrived at the Cola port in Ceylon. Next we hear that he spent a number of years in Ceylon at the Mahāvihāra, the great monastery at Anūrādhāpura. It appears that foreign students migrating to Ceylon for study went to this particular monastery, though there were other towns as well with great monasteries in them.

Here he appears to have composed his earliest work a quasi-clerical work, wrongly attributed to Buddharakkhita. This poem which occupies a peculiarly high position in the realm of Pāli poetry, analogous to that of Milinda Panha in Pāli Prose, pays in language of the highest order and prosody of the greatest complexity, meet praise to the Great Leader who renounced the world and found the True way. "*Jinālaṅkāra*" recalls the most

exquisite of Sanskrit poems with any of which it would bear quite favourable comparison. The author, though a clergyman, is yet young, full of life and emotion, and paints most gorgeous descriptions of life and men.

The Enlightened one is praised for his extraordinary power of determination in resisting the charms of the palace. Making that a basis, Buddhadatta most poetically portrays the features and lineaments of Princess Yaśodharā the mother of Rāhula. Unique in Pāli Literature, it has its parallel only in the works of Sanskrit writers like Bāṇa and Kālidāsa.

Jinālaṅkāra established the repute of Buddhadatta as a most venerable member of the Order and as one of the best writers of Pāli verse. Recognised throughout Ceylon as a great scholar, he was much in requirement at the court of other Buddhist princes, for Buddhadatta was invited by the kings of Veṅgi, whose patronage had set the Buddhist school at Kāñcīpura on a sound basis, as well as by the Chief of Miladu. It is not unlikely that Buddhadatta was consulted, if not actually deputed, in connection with introducing Buddhism into Burma, where the kings of Veṅgi, the Śālaṅkāyanas, had made more or less permanent settlements.

During the years of his residence at Anūrādhāpura he should have studied the Sinhalese commentaries in the original, for there is no evidence to show that they were available in any other tongue at the time. The work of translating or exploiting the Sinhalese commentaries still waited to be done by scholars like himself. Buddhaghoṣa, whose name has cast that of Buddhadatta into the obscurest shade, chose to translate the commentaries, just as any competent scholar wanting the capacity for independent thought and original composition, might prefer to render into another language what has already been written in one, and deserves the respect that is due to all honest work. But Buddhadatta's choice was different, and the divergence in aim and achievement of the two great authors is a direct consequence of this. Buddhadatta saw that though the act of translation did not demand of its votary much more than a mastery of the vocabulary and idioms of the foreign language, it was yet too slow and tedious a process to be attempted with reference to the Buddhist writings by any single scholar. The works in Sinhalese were as numerous as they were of value and a scholar might not hope to help Buddhist culture to any appreciable extent by translating

even six or seven of the copious Sinhalese commentaries. Thus it was that he preferred to give in a few original works of his own, all the knowledge of the Sinhalese exegetical literature he was able to acquire in a life-time. His works therefore stand as a remarkable achievement, presenting in Pāli valuable information available till his time only in Sinhalese. The matter of the Sinhalese book is allowed to pass through 'the prism of a vigorous intellect' and expressed in a style of writing hardly less than the greatest.

According to the Gandhavaṁśa, Buddhadatta composed five works in all, namely,

1. The 'Jinālaṅkāra'-a votive Wreath for the Jina.
2. The 'Vinaya Vinicchāyā'-Vinaya determined.
3. The 'Uttara Vinicchāyā'-Further issues determined.
4. The 'Abhidhammāvatāra'-Introduction to Abhidhamma. preceded by the 'Rūpārūpa Vibhāga'.
5. The 'Madhurārtha Vilāsinī' The commentary on Buddhavaṁśa.

A close student of Buddhadatta will surely be struck by the unity that marks the group of Buddhadatta's works. I, for one, perceive a scheme which gives to each of the works a definite place as a part of a bigger whole. *Jinālaṅkāra*, the earliest is the tribute of an earnest follower who has chosen to dedicate his life to the study of the Master's words and to the promulgation of the gospel. Next, in 'Vinaya Vinicchāyā' the practical life of self-control and discipline, pronounced by the Buddha as indispensable to the attainment of the ideal, is studied analytically and rendered available for future generations in Pāli. The settlement of doubtful points left undecided in the Vinaya Vinicchāyā forms the subject matter of the Uttara Vinicchāyā. In the next work, the whole of the Abhidhamma Literature, another of 'the three baskets of the Law,' is summarised, nay crystallised, in classical Pāli verse. The 'Rūpārūpa Vibhāga' appears to have preceded the 'Abhidhamma-Avatāra' in which it now forms a part and has been modelled on Sāṅkhya lines of classification. The "Abhidhamma-Avatāra" on account of its comparative brevity has unfortunately been classed amongst 'Lethans' or 'handbooks' of Buddhist Philosophy. The misnomer is irritating in the extreme. One who has read the Abhidhamma Avatāra

and also the Sanskrit Sūtras of Yoga or Nyāya tends to place the Abhidhamma Avatāra amongst the most important works on philosophy.

To the Sutta Piṭaka, or the mass of tradition that had been accumulating ever since the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha, threatening to mystify and obscure the personage it was intended to glorify, Buddhadatta must have given his attention as to some serious cause of dread. Accordingly, in his commentary on the Buddhavaṁśa which is by itself an almost unintelligible fragment of antiquity, Buddhadatta preserves what in his opinion deserved such preservation.

Thus we see that he has done what was distinctly above the capacity of a mere commentator who, when stripped of the halo of a remote past, is no better than a dignified annotator. Buddhadatta aimed very high and gave to the world, within the compass of about four thousand verses, the entire Buddhist religious literature, extending from the old traditional stories and legends to the most practical points of religious life and thence to the most abstruse philosophical literature. His work is marked by an anxiety to give to the Buddhist faith the status of an organised religious system, strong in its principles and steady and unequivocating in its statement of them and backed by an acceptable system of psychology and metaphysics. His ambition was to raise Buddhism from a popular, uncertain, superstitious congeries to the high level of other Indian philosophical systems by giving it in the learned tongue, Pāli, a new body of unexceptionable literature similar to the Sutta Literature of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Vaiśeṣika schools. It will be no exaggeration to say that the Vibhajjāvādin School, so very influential for centuries, owed much to the pioneer work of Buddhadatta.

Though none could have realised better than Buddhadatta himself the supreme importance of the work and the value of his own services to Buddhism, he most rigorously excluded from his works references to himself, as though it were his intention to show the world how thoroughly convinced he himself was in the 'no-soul' theory he established as Law. His work reminds us of the practice of modern scientists who write treatises on their subjects more to give the world what they have discovered of the Truth than to make their work an occasion for personal advertisement and self-display. Selfless is Buddhadatta to the extreme and it is only a very careful scrutiny coupled with a desire to

know the author from his work that reveals to us glimpses, dim and distant, of the great genius who came forward for the first time to restore in all its pristine purity the Buddhist faith that might otherwise have been lost in the mazes of popular superstition or absorbed irrecoverably in the Hindu Religion.

FRAGMENTS OF MĀTṚGUPTĀCĀRYA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M. A.,

LIBRARIAN, ADYAR LIBRARY.

Mātṛgupta occupies a very important place in the galaxy of poetico-rhetoricians. Why time has thrown into oblivion the works of such an illustrious author as Mātṛgupta, it is difficult to imagine. So far we have not been able to unearth any of the lost works of Mātṛgupta. Consequently an attempt is made in this paper to bring together all available quotations from the works of that author and present them to the world of scholars in a connected form.

Indian History is very cruel with regard to the age, activities, nativity and personal history of most of the important figures in the political as well as literary history of Ancient India. Still there are a few living figures for us in this distance of time. Mātṛgupta is one of those few. While his works are lost, his personal history is well-known. We have sufficient records to determine the exact date and period of this writer; materials regarding his personal history are also available. He therefore does not share the fate which is common to most of the Sanskrit writers.

Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī gives the following account of Mātṛgupta:—

Harṣavardhana, alias Vikramāditya, had in his court a poet by name Mātṛgupta[1]. He was very conservative and consequently was not prepared to push himself up to royal favour of his own accord. The king was not unaware of the high poetic talents and deep culture of his protege; but he intentionally ignored him. In absolute poverty, without proper food, decent clothing, and timely sleep, the poet continued to serve his master with diligence. He knew no comfort.

At last the time came when his stars began to exert their influence, being in the ascendant. On a particular night it happened by chance that all the guards were asleep; the lamp which was dimly burning in the apartments of the king was put

1. Refer to Rājataraṅgiṇī III—129-229.

out by a strong wind; the king wanted the lamp to be re-lit but there was no servant to do it. He shouted at the top of his voice but there was no response from any of the guards. Mātṛgupta who was waiting at the gate entered and did the needful. While he was about to retire, the king wanted to know his exact position in life and asked him how he alone was awake at that dead hour of night. The poet composed the following verse on the spur of the moment.

शीतेनोद्धृषितस्य माषशिमिवाच्चिन्तार्णवे मज्जतः
शान्ताग्निं स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः क्षुत्क्षामकण्ठस्य मे ।
निद्रा काप्यवमानितेव दयिता संत्यज्य दूरं गता
सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

Rājataranginị III—181.

On hearing this verse, the king realised the sin he had committed by neglecting his duty in not having recognised the merits of the poor, needy and eminent poet and began to contemplate as to how best he could expiate the sin.

At dawn he rose, having already come to a conclusion with regard to Mātṛgupta. The kingdom of Kāśmir was then without a ruler. That kingdom was his vassalage and the responsibility of finding a suitable ruler to that country devolved upon Harṣa. Now he called upon Mātṛgupta and handed over to him a note in which there was an order to his ministers at Kāśmir that Mātṛgupta should be anointed their king, and bade Mātṛgupta deliver it unto the hands of his ministers at Kāśmir and do as they required. The poet was unaware of what the king had written and did as ordered. He marched along to Kāśmir with many asupicious omens at every step. And as soon as he delivered the Royal message, he was anointed king of that country. We also learn from Kalhaṇa that he was not of the same place to which Harṣavardhana belonged. Probably he was a Southerner.

This is the story of Mātṛgupta which we find narrated in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Whatever might be the actual significance of this anecdote, the following incontrovertible facts could be deduced from this account.

i. that Mātṛgupta was a contemporary of king Harṣavardhana;

ii. that he was a king of Kāśmir; and

iii. that he was a great poet.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī itself mentions him as a contemporary of poet Bhartṛmeṇṭha and this fits in well with other facts. Consequently the date of Mātṛgupta synchronises with that of Śrī Harṣa (606—647 A. D.).

About the works of Mātṛgupta we have absolutely no information. We are not in a position to definitely postulate what works he might have written. From the evidences available, the following facts could be gathered.

I. He might have commented on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni. The basis of this conjecture is as follows :—

On page 348 of the India Office Catalogue we find the description of a manuscript called Nāṭyapradīpa. Therein the author Sundaramiśra makes the following statement—

तत्र भरतः—

आशीर्वचनसंयुक्ता नित्यं यस्मात्प्रयुज्यते ।
देवद्विजनृपादीनां तस्मान्नान्दीति संज्ञिता ॥
सूत्रधारः पठेत्तत्र मध्यमं स्वरमाश्रितः ।
नान्दी पदैर्द्वादशभिरष्टाभिर्वाप्यलङ्कृता ॥

अस्य व्याख्याने मातृगुप्ताचार्यैः षोडशाङ्घ्रिपदान्विता इयं उदाहृता ॥

From this it is possible to draw two conclusions (*i. e.*) that Mātṛgupta commented upon the Nāṭyaśāstra or that he commented upon the two verses given above in some context or other. The more probable of the two conjectures is that he commented upon the whole work.

II. Mātṛgupta should have been a poet of no mean order. The verses ascribed to him by Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī, by Vallabhadeva in his Subhāṣitāvalī, by Kṣemendra in his Aucityavicāracarcā—all speak for themselves. These verses might have been composed at random, or they might have formed part of a complete work; but about that we have no information at present.

III. Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the Śākuntala, Sarvānanda in his commentary on the Amarakośa, Vāsudeva in his commentary on the Karpūramañjarī and certain other writers give copious extracts from an unknown work of Mātṛguptācārya. That unknown work should have been an extensive one, dealing

with rhetoric, dancing, rasas, principles of literary criticism and so on. The work should have been modelled on the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.

Before proceeding to the actual quotations themselves one or two points have to be cleared with regard to Mātṛgupta's date and identity. Mātṛgupta cannot be identified with Kālidāsa as Mr. Bhau Dhaji seems to surmise. The arguments of Bhau Dhaji have been systematically refuted by various scholars and those arguments need not be repeated here again.

Dr. De in his "Sanskrit Poetics" says, with regard to Mātṛgupta :—"and probably he (Mātṛgupta) belongs to comparatively recent times, being certainly unknown to Abhinavagupta, Dhanika and other writers".[1] From this it is clear that Dr. De regards Mātṛgupta, the ālaṅkārika to be different from the protege of Harṣavardhana. Dr. De admits that Mātṛgupta is referred to by Śāradātanaya in his Bhāvaprakāśikā and consequently Mātṛgupta should have flourished either in the 11th or 12th century (*i. e.*) later than Abhinavagupta and earlier than Śāradātanaya.

Now it needs only to be pointed out that Dr. De was not correct when he remarked that he was unknown to Abhinavagupta. In his Abhinavabhāratī, Abhinavagupta mentions Mātṛgupta and quotes a verse of his. The passage is this:—

यथोक्तं भट्टमातृगुप्तेन—

पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ।

Page 944 of Vol. IV, of the
Adyar manuscript of the Abhinavabhāratī.

Kuṇṭaka an immediate successor of Abhinavagupta mentions Mātṛgupta by name in his Vakroktijīvita. The relevant extract is given below.

अनुसरणदिक्प्रदर्शनं पुनः क्रियते । यथा—मातृगुप्तः—मञ्जीरप्रभृतीनां सौकुमार्यवैचित्र्यसंवलितपरिस्पन्दस्यन्दीनि काव्यानि सम्भवन्ति ।

Now that the only objection which Dr. De has in identifying the contemporary of Harṣavardhana with the ālaṅkārika has been removed, we believe that Dr. De will reconsider his position. There does not seem to be any serious difficulty in regarding the two Mātṛguptas identical.

Now with regard to the name of Mātṛgupta, the following variations occur. A manuscript of the Ṭīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda

1. Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 33.

belonging to the Adyar Library calls him Mātragupta in one placə and Mantragupta in anothor place. This difference may be due to scribal errors. Abhinavagupta gives him the title Bhaṭṭa. We may now proceed to the actual quotations themselves.

MĀTṚGUPTA, A POET

नायं निशामुखसरोरुहराजहंसः
कीरीकपोलतलकान्ततनुश्शशाङ्कः ।
आभाति नाथ तदिदं दिवि दुग्धसिन्धु-
डिण्डीरपिण्डपरिपाण्डु यशस्त्वदीयम् ॥

P. 142 of Kṣemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā. N. S. Ed.

नाकारमुद्वहसि नैव विकत्थसे त्वं
दित्सां न सूचयति[सि] मुञ्चसि सत्फलानि ।
निश्शब्दवर्षणमिवाम्बुधरस्य राजन्
संलक्ष्यते फलत एव तव प्रसादः ॥

No. 2550 in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī.

शीतेनोद्धृषितस्य माषशिमिवच्चिन्तार्णवे मज्जतः
शान्ताग्निं स्फुटिताधरस्य धमतः क्षुत्क्षामकण्ठस्य मे ।
निद्रा काप्यवमानितेव दयिता संत्यज्य दूरं गता
सत्पात्रप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥

No. 3181 do. and also Rājataraṅgiṇī.

MĀTṚGUPTA, AN ĀLAṄKĀRIKA.
DEFINITION OF SŪTRADHĀRA.

चतुरातोद्यनिष्णातोऽनेकभूषासमावृतः ।
नानाभाषणतत्त्वज्ञो नीतिशास्त्रार्थतत्त्ववित् ॥[1]
[2]वेश्योपचारचतुरः [3]पौरुषेयविचक्षणः ।[4]

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1. This is quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa also in his commentary on the Śākuntala. p. 5. N. S. Ed.

2. वेषो is the reading adopted by Raṅganātha in his commentary on the Vikramorvaśīya, p. 5. N. S. Ed.

3. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's reading is पौरेषण. p. 5. N. S. Ed.; Raṅganātha also, has the same reading. p. 5.

4. Between this and the next line, Rāghavabhaṭṭa has some more lines.

[1]तत्तद्गीतानुगानेककलातालावधारणः[2] ॥

[3]अवधार्य प्रयोक्ता च योक्तॄणामुपदेशकः ।

एवंगुणगणोपेतस्सूत्रधारस्स[4] उच्यते ॥

Pages 5, 6. Vāsudeva's commentary on the Karpūramañjarī. N. S. Ed.

Vāsudeva in his extract from Mātṛgupta's definition of Sūtradhāra has omitted some lines and they are supplied by Rāghavabhaṭṭa. They are :

नानागतिप्रचारज्ञो रसभावविशारदः ।

नाट्यप्रयोगनिपुणो नानाशिल्पकलान्वितः ।

छन्दोविधानतत्त्वज्ञस्सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षणः ॥[5]

Ś. Com. P. 5. N. S. Ed.

ON THE DEFINITION OF NĀNDĪ

आशीर्नमस्क्रियारूपः श्लोकः काव्यार्थसूचकः ।

नान्दीति कथ्यते........

Raṅganātha on Vikramorvaśīya, p. 4; 7.

EFFECTS OF THE STAGE, DRESS ETC. ON RASA :

रसास्तु त्रिविधा वाचिकनेपथ्यस्वभावजाः ।

रसानुरूपैरालापैः श्लोकैर्वाक्यैः पदैस्तथा ॥

नानालङ्कारसंयुक्तैर्वाचिको रस उच्यते ।

कर्मरूपवयोजातिदेशकालानुवर्तिभिः ॥

माल्यभूषणवस्त्राद्यैर्नेपथ्यरस उच्यते ।

रूपयौवनलावण्यस्थैर्यधैर्यादिभिर्गुणैः ॥

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1. तत्तद्गीतानुगलय is Rāghavabhaṭṭa's reading ; also Raṅganātha p. 6.

2. कलतालावधारणः is Ranganātha's reading. p. 6.

3. अवधाय is found in Rāghava's Commentary ; also Raṅganātha p. 6.

4. अभिधीयते is Rāghava's reading;

निगद्यते is Raṅganātha's reading p. 6.

5. These lines are quoted by Raṅganātha also in his Com. on Vikramorvaśīya.

रसस्स्वाभाविको ज्ञेयस्स च नाट्ये प्रशस्यते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 7.

ON THE PRĀKṚTS TO BE USED IN A DRAMA :

प्राक्प्रतीचीभुवोः सिन्ध्वोर्हिमवद्विन्ध्यशैलयोः ।
अन्तरावस्थितं देशमार्यावर्तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

आर्यावर्तप्रसूतासु सर्वास्वेव हि जातिषु ।
शौरसेनीं समाश्रित्य भाषां काव्ये प्रयोजयेत् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 8.

ON THE DEFINITION OF A NĀṬAKA :

प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयं धीरोदात्तादिनायकम् ।
राजर्षिवंशचरितं तथा दिव्याश्रयान्वितम् ॥

युक्तं वृद्धिविलासाद्यैर्गुणैर्नानाविभूतिभिः ।
शृङ्गारवीरान्यतरप्रधानरससंश्रयम् ॥

प्रकृत्यवस्थासन्ध्यङ्गसन्ध्यन्तरविभूषणैः ।
पताकास्थानकैर्वृत्तं पतङ्गैश्च प्रवृत्तिभिः ॥

नाट्यालङ्करणैर्नानाभाषायुक्पात्रसञ्चयैः ।
अङ्कप्रवेशकैराढ्यं रसभावसमुज्ज्वलम् ॥

सुखदुःखोत्पत्तिकृतं चरितं यच्च भूभृताम् ।
इतिवृत्तं कथोद्भूतं किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यवस्तु च ॥

नाटकं नाम तज्ज्ञेयं रूपकं नाट्यवेदिभिः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 9.
स्वैरङ्गैश्चापि वीथ्यङ्गैः प्रकुर्यादामुखं बुधः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 13.

ON BĪJA LAKṢAṆA AND ITS PECULIARITIES :

क्वचित्कारणमात्रं तु क्वचिच्च फलदर्शनम् ।
क्वचिदारम्भमात्रं तु फलमुक्त्वा क्रिया क्वचित् ॥

व्यापारश्च विशेषोक्तः क्वचिद्वा फलसाधकः ।
बहुधा रूपेकष्वेवं बीजरूपेण दृश्यते ॥

फले यस्य हि संहारः फलबीजं तु तद्भवेत् ।
वस्तुबीजं कथा ज्ञेया अर्थबीजं तु नायकः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 15.

ON THE LANGUAGES TO BE SPOKEN BY THE VARIOUS CHARACTERS :

संमतानां देवतानां राजन्यामात्यसैनिके ।
वणिङ्मागधसूतानां पाठ्यं योज्यं तु संस्कृतम् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 15.

ON THE OCCASIONAL USE OF SANSKRIT BY NĪCA CHARACTERS :

योज्यं विदूषकोन्मत्तबालतापसयोषिताम् ।
नीचानां पण्डकानां च नीचग्रहविकारिणाम् ॥
विद्वद्भिः प्राकृतं कार्यं कारणात्संस्कृतं क्वचित् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 126.

ON THE DEFINITION OF BHŪṢAṆA[1] :

उपमाद्यैरलङ्कारैर्गुणैः श्लेषादिभिस्तथा ।
रत्नाढ्यैर्बहुभिर्युक्तं भूषणैरिव भूषणम् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 20.

ON WHAT IS KNOWN AS ANTARASANDHI :

स्वप्नो दूतश्च लेखश्च नेपथ्योक्तिस्तथैव च ।
आकाशवचनं चेति ज्ञेया ह्यन्तरसन्धयः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 20.

ON THE DEFINITION OF SAÑCĀRIKĀ :

गृहकक्षाविचारिण्यः तथोपवनसञ्चराः ।
यामेषु च नियुक्तानां यामशुद्धिविशारदाः ।
साञ्चारिकास्तु ता ज्ञेया यवन्योऽपि मताः क्वचित् ॥
Ibid. p. 57.

ON THE DEFINITION OF SENĀPATI :

शीलवान्सत्त्वसम्पन्नस्त्यक्तालस्यः प्रियंवदः ।
पररन्ध्रान्तराभिज्ञो यात्राकालविशेषवित् ॥
अस्त्रशास्त्रादितत्त्वज्ञो लोके चाक्रम[वक्र]तां गतः ।
देशवित्कालविच्चैव भवेत्सेनापतिर्गुणैः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 62.

ON THE DEFINITION OF HASITA :

विकासितकपोलान्तमुत्फुल्लामललोचनम् ।
किञ्चिल्लक्षितदन्ताग्रं हसितं तद्विदो विदुः ॥

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1. Thirty six varieties of bhūṣaṇa have been mentioned by Bharata in his Nāṭyasāstra. Dhanika tries to combine all of them into one.

....

उत्तमस्य समुद्दिष्टं स्मितं हसितमेव च ॥ *Ibid.* p. 74-75.

ON THE USE OF PATĀKĀSTHĀNAKA :

मुखे प्रतिमुखे गर्भे विमर्शे च चतुर्ष्वपि ।
भेदास्सन्धिषु कर्तव्याः पताकास्थानकस्य तु ॥ *Ibid.* p. 110.

ON THE DEFINITION OF THE THIRD PĀTĀKĀSTHĀNAKA :

अर्थोपक्षेपणं यत्र[1] गूढं[2] सविनयं[3] भवेत् ।
[4]श्लिष्टाप्रत्युत्तरोपेतं तृतीयं तन्मतं तथा ॥ *Ibid.* p. 123.

ON THE DEFINITION OF KAÑCUKIN :

ये नित्यं सत्यसम्पन्नाः कामदोषविवर्जिताः ।
ज्ञानविज्ञानकुशलाः कञ्चुकीयास्तु ते स्मृताः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 154.

ON THE DEFINITION OF PRATĪHĀRI :

सन्धिविग्रहसम्बद्धं नानाकार्यसमुत्थितम् ।
निवेदयन्ति याः कार्यं प्रतीहार्यस्तु तास्स्मृताः ॥
Ibid. p. 156.

ON THE DEFINITION PARICĀRIKĀ :

संवाहने च गन्धे च तथा चैव प्रसाधने ।
तथाभरणसंयोगमाल्यसङ्ग्रथनेषु च ।
विज्ञेया नामतः सा तु नृपतेः परिचारिका ॥ *Ibid.* p. 199.

ON PHALAYOGA :

यदाधिकारिकं वस्तु सम्यक्प्राज्ञैः प्रयुज्यते ।
तदर्थो यस्समारम्भस्तत्कार्यं कथ्यते इति ॥
अभिप्रेतं समर्थं च प्रतिरूपं क्रियाफलम् ।
इतिवृत्तं भवेद्यस्मिन्फलयोगस्स उच्यते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 230.

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1. यत्त, is another reading. *Ibid.* p. 151.
2. न गूढं is another reading. *Ibid.* p. 123.
3. सविनं is the other reading. *Ibid.* p. 123.
4. श्लिष्टप्रत्युत्तरोपेतं— *Ibid.* p. 151.

ON ADBHUTA RASA :

अद्भुतो विस्मयः स्थायिभावप्रभव उच्यते ।
प्रासादोद्यानशैलादिगमनैर्दिव्यदर्शनैः ॥
सभाविमानमायेन्द्रजालशिल्पादिदर्शनैः ।
हृदयेप्सितलाभैश्च विभावैस्तस्य सम्भवः ॥

P. 145 Ṭīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda,
T. S. S. Edition.

ON BĪBHATSA RASA :

विकृतैः पूतिमांसादिदर्शनश्रुतिकीर्तनैः ।
विभावैर्जायते चासौ बीभत्सो नीचसंश्रयः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 147.

ON THE THIRTY-SIX VARIETIES OF VYABHICĀRIBHĀVAS :

निर्वेदो ग्लानिराशङ्का तथासूया मदः श्रमः ।
आलस्यमथ दैन्यं च चिन्ता मोहः स्मृतिर्मतिः ॥
व्रीडा चपलतामर्ष आवेगो जडता धृतिः ।
गर्वो विषाद औत्सुक्यं निद्रापस्मार एव च ॥
त्रासो हर्षः प्रबोधश्च अवहित्थं तथोग्रता ।
वितर्को व्याधिरुन्मादो मरणं शौचमेव च ॥
त्रयस्त्रिंशदिमे भावा विज्ञेया व्यभिचारिणः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 150.

ON THE ANUBHĀVAS IN ṢṚNGĀRĀBHINAYA :

तस्य लोचनचातुर्यभ्रूक्षेपस्मितविभ्रमाः ।
चित्राङ्गहारवाद्यादिरनुभावगणः स्मृतः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 151.

ON BĪBHATSĀBHINAYA :

नासाप्रच्छादनाव्यक्तपादपाताक्षिकूणनैः ।
हृल्लेखोद्वेजनाद्यैश्च तज्ज्ञैरभिनयः स्मृतः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 151.

ON LĪLĀ

प्रियवाग्भिरलङ्कारैर्मधुरैः प्रीतियोजितैः ।
प्रियस्यानुकृतिः स्त्रीणां लीला स्यात्तु यथोच्यते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 160.

MISCELLANEOUS :

पुष्पं च जनयत्येको भूयोऽनुस्पर्शनान्वितः ॥

Adyar Manuscript of the
Abhinavabhāratī Vol. IV, p. 944.

PLANETARY MOTIONS IN HINDU ASTRONOMY

By

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M.A.,

CALCUTTA.

The earliest notion about planetary motions was that the sun and the planets, with the stars, were carried diurnally westward by a mighty wind or aether, called Pravāha, which was moving continuously in a kind of whirling vortex. "It was supposed that the apparent eastward motion of the planets in their orbits was brought about by an overpowering influence of the stars, causing them to hang back, and that the irregular motions were produced by invisible deities at the apogees and the nodes of the different orbits, those at the apogees attracting them unequally by means of reins of winds, thus guiding them in their course, whilst the others, situated at the nodes, deflected to the north or south of the Ecliptic."

The notion that the planets were carried by an aether whirled about the sun was one also prevalent in Europe before the times of Kepler and Newton. Even Descartes and Leibneitz and a crowd of followers bestowed much labour and extensive learning in proving the system of vortices to be a necessity.[1]

The Hindu astronomers in their earliest attempt to explain the planetary motions supposed a uniform motion in a circle about the earth but that, they found, did not really represent the true motion of a planet in its orbit, although the hypothesis served sufficiently to determine the mean motion and mean place of a planet when deduced from observations carried on for lengthened periods. They knew that every planet in its course was subject to great irregularities, the motion undergoing continual changes. At one time it would be direct towards the east, until the planet reached a stationary point, where it would seem to be at rest; then a retrograde motion would begin, and continue for a time, till another stationary position was reached, and the eastward motion would be repeated. It was to account for these irregularities that the epicycle was invented.

This contrivance was ascribed by the Greeks to Appollonius. He conceived that a planet in its course described, with uniform

1. *Vide* Brennand's Hindu Astronomy, page 84.

motion, the circumference of a circle, called the deferent, the centre of which was the centre of the earth. It was also supposed that, whilst the centre of the epicycle was moving eastward in the direction of the signs, the planet itself was moving in a direction contrary to that of the signs. By this hypothesis it was easy to show the various changes in the motions of the planets. This theory was generally adopted by western nations, with the addition of other epicycles, introduced by Ptolemy, as necessary for expressing the apparent motions with accuracy.

Āryabhaṭa was the first Hindu astronomer who had correct notions of the planetary motions and made corrections in the system received by him from earlier sources, specially that of Parāśara. Lalla followed his method. He ascribed to the epicycles, by which the motion of a planet is represented, a form varying from the circle and nearly ecliptic. The method followed in the old Sūrya Siddhānta included in the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira is different from that followed in the Āryabhaṭīya. The same method in its main principle is found in the present text of Sūrya Siddhānta. Brahmagupta's Khaṇḍakhādyaka, though known to have followed the Āryabhaṭīyam, exactly follows the old Sūrya Siddhānta in its methods of epicycles. It is strange why Brahmagupta has not followed the method of the Āryabhaṭa regarding the dimensions and elements of epicycles though he himself says that he has followed a work of Āryabhaṭa in writing Khaṇḍakhādyakam. It is hence probable that this Āryabhaṭa whom Brahmagupta is suppossed to have followed is a person entirely different from the famous Āryabhaṭa and is a third Āryabhaṭa of that name.

The Hindus had two methods for calculating the true place of a planet from its mean place, as determined by the rules of the Sūrya Siddhānta. One of these method resembles that of Appollonius, with this difference, that whilst the planet moved uniformly in its epicycle, whose centre moved in the deferent concentric with the earth, the epicycle itself was conceived to be variable, the circumference being greatest when the planet was in the Apsis (at apogee or perigee; the true and mean places being then coincident), and least when the planet was at a distance of 90^{0} from those points. The other method supposes that, whilst the mean place of a planet is a point moving uniformly eastward, round the circumference of a circle whose centre is the earth, the planet also moves uniformly eastward, in

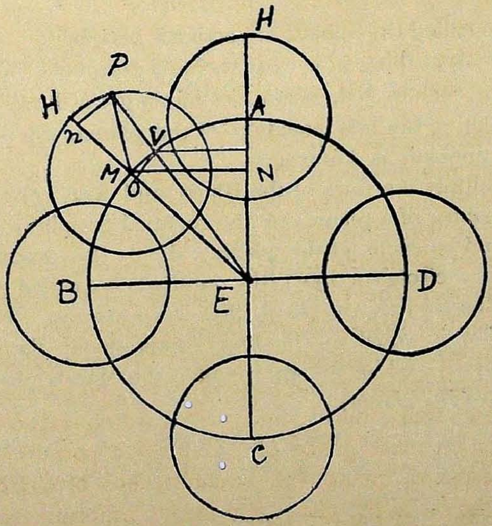
the same time, round the circumference of an equal, but eccentric circle, whose centre is situated in the line joining the Apogee with the centre of the earth, the distance from it being the eccentricity.

The motion of a planet is of eight kinds, *i.e.*,

1. Vakra (decreasing retrograde motion),
2. Ati-vakra (increasing retrograde motion),
3. Vikala (stationary),
4. Manda (increasing direct motion less than the mean motion),
5. Mandatara (decreasing direct motion less than the mean motion),
6. Sama (mean motion),
7. Śīghratara or Ati-śīghra (increasing direct motion greater than the mean motion), and
8. Śīghra (decreasing direct motion greater than the mean motion).

Of these kinds, the five motions Ati-śīghra, Śīghra, Manda, Mandatara and Sama are direct and the two motions Vakra and Ati-vakra are retrograde.

In order to find the true place of a planet, its mean place and that of its apogee are first computed, the difference between them (called the *kendra* or mean anomaly) is taken and its sine is found; these are used for constructing the various epicycles.



Suppose a circle A B C D represents the deferent of a planet, in the plane of the orbit, the radius being 3438, the centre E representing the centre of the earth, and the line A E C the line of apsides. Let a small circle at A cutting the line of apsides at H represent the epicycle of a planet, the point H of the circumference being at the greatest distance from E will be the apogee or higher apsis. If we now conceive that while the centre of the epicycle (starting from A and supposed to be moving in the circumference of the deferent in the direction A B C D, *i.e.*, in the order of the signs of the Zodiac) completes one revolution in the deferent; the planet starting from H and moving in the epicycle also completes one revolution in the same time, in a contrary direction of the signs. Then, it is assumed as a first approximation, that the direction in which the planet would appear to be seen at any time, when viewed from E, would be the direction of its true place. The conception here formed is that of an ordinary epicycle of an invariable magnitude. But the Hindu epicycle has its circumference continually varying, being greatest when the centre is at A or C, and least when the centre is at B or D.

Suppose c_A and c_B are the the circumferences of the epicycle for any of the planets at A and B respectively, then, for any intermediate point, M, with anomaly K the circumference of the epicycle would be $= c_A - (c_A - c_B)\frac{\text{Sin K}}{3438} = c_M$, such a circumference is called the Sphuṭa or rectified periphery.[1]

After describing how the rectified periphery of a planet's epicycle is constructed, Sūrya Siddhānta gives the following rule for calculating the first equation of the planet, when the *kendra* or mean anomaly is known :—

" Multiply the sines of the Bhuja and Koṭi (of the first and second *kendra* of a planet) by the rectified periphery (of the first and second epicycle of the planet); divide the products by the degrees in a circle (or 360^0) (the quotients are called the first and second Bhuja Phala and Koṭi-Phala respectively). Find the arc whose sine is equal to the first Bhuja phala; the number of minutes contained in this arc is called the Manda phala (the first equation of the planet)."

This rule can be interpreted in this way. Suppose H to be the intersection of the epicycle, with the line of apsides E A,

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter II, verse 38.

the higher apsis or apogee. Then a planet supposed to start from H, in the epicycle, with a uniform motion, and to describe the circumference of the epicycle, in the same time as its centre, starting from A, and moving uniformly in the concentric, completes its revolution in that circle. When the centre has moved over an arc AM of the concentric, in the direction of the signs of the Zodiac, the planet P will have moved over an arc HP of the epicycle, such that, A M and H P will be similar arcs; therefore the angle M E A will be equal to the angle H M P, so that P M will always be parallel to A E.

If now, P E be joined, cutting the concentric in the point V, then the direction in which the planet would be seen, when viewed from E, the centre of the earth, would be that of the line E V, and the apparent place of the planet in the concentric would be V. Consequently, V is called the true place, and M V, the distance between the mean and the true places is the arc required in finding the true place. Now Pn, the perpendicular from P upon EM, is the sine of the Manda-phala or first equation. In the similar $\triangle$s Pn M and M N E, $\frac{Pn}{PM}=\frac{MN}{ME}$ or $Pn=\frac{PM}{ME}.MN$;

but $\frac{PM}{ME}=\frac{\text{circumference of epicycle at M}}{\text{circumference of concentric}}$, and $MN=$ sine of arc $MA=$ sine K·

$$\therefore \quad Pn=\frac{c_M}{360^1 \times 60}.\,\text{sink}=\frac{c_M}{21600'}.\ \text{Sin K.}$$

$$\text{Also } \frac{Mn}{MP}=\frac{NE}{ME} \text{ or } Mn=\frac{MP}{ME}.\ NE.$$

But M E = cosine of are AM $\therefore\ Mn=\frac{c_M}{21600'},\ \cos K$

Now MN is the Bhuja and Pn is the Bhuja-phala and NE the Koṭi and Mn the Koṭi-phala

$$\text{Bhuja-phala}=\frac{\text{rectified periphery at M}}{360^0}\times \text{Bhuja and}$$

$$\text{Koṭi-phala}=\frac{\text{rectified periphery at M}}{360^0}\times \text{Koṭi.}$$

The arc of which Bhuja-phala is the sine is the Manda-phala, or first equation of the centre. This would be correct, if P E had been the radius. The corrections to be applied are given in the following rules[1] :—

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter II, verses 40, 41 and 42.

"To find the second equation of the minor planets—Mars, etc. Find the second Koṭi-phala (from a planet's second kendra). It is to be added to the radius, when the Kendra is less than three signs or greater than nine signs; but when the Kendra is greater than three signs and less than nine, then the second Koṭi-phala is to be subtracted from the radius."

"Add the square of the result (just found) to that of the sine of the second Bhuja-phala; the square of the sum is the śīghra-karṇa, or second hypotenuse. Find the second Bhuja-phala of the planet; multiply it by the radius, and divide the product by the second hypotenuse.

"Find the arc whose sine is equal to the quotient (just found); the number of minutes contained in the arc is called the Śīghra-phala (or second equation of the planet)."

Now $Pn = \frac{CM}{21600} \cdot \sin K$ = Bhuja-phala, in which K may be the first or second Kendra, and according to the position of M, sin K may make Mn vary in sign.

$\therefore En = EM \pm Mn$; but $PE^2 = Pn^2 + En^2$.

or Śīghra-karṇa $= PE = \sqrt{[Pn^2 + (EM \pm Mn]^2}$

$$= \sqrt{\left\{\left(\frac{C_M \text{ Sin } K^2}{21600} + (3438 \pm \frac{C_M \text{ Cos } K^2}{21600}\right)\right\}}$$

Again in $\triangle$s Pn E, Vo E, $\frac{Vo}{Pn} = \frac{VE}{PE}$ or $Vo = \frac{VE.\ Pn}{PE}$

$$\text{Sin oV} = \quad \therefore \frac{3438 \times \frac{C_{M.} \text{ Sin } K}{21600}}{\sqrt{\left\{\left(\frac{C_M \text{ Sin } K^2}{21600} + \right) \left(3438 \pm \frac{C_M \text{ Cos } K^2}{21\,00}\right)\right.}}$$

i. e. sine Śīghra-phala $= \frac{\text{Radius} \times \text{Bhuja-phala}}{\text{Karṇa}}$ where Karṇa $= \sqrt{}$ [(Radius ± Koṭi-phala)^2 + (Bhuja-phala)^2].

Then the method of approximation is used to find the true place of a planet. "Find the equation (from the mean place of a planet), apply the half of it to the mean place, and to the result apply the half of the first equation (found from that result), from the amount find the first equation again, and apply the whole of it to the mean place of the planet, and to the rectified mean place of the planet, apply the whole of the second equation found from the rectified mean place, thus the true place of a planet is found."

When the mean place is in advance of the true place, the equation is to be subtracted, but when the true place is in advance of the mean place, the equation is to be added, and at the higher and lower apsides the two places will coincide.

Bhāskara, however, gives a very brief account of the method of epicycle. He says :—

"Taking the mean place of the planet in the concentric as the centre, with a radius equal to the eccentricity of the planet, draw a circle. This is called Nīcoccavṛtta or epicycle. Then draw a line from the centre of the earth passing through the mean place of the planet [to the circumference of the epicycle]. That place in the epicycle most distant from the centre of the Earth, cut by the line [joining the centre of the Earth and mean place of the planet] is supposed to be the place of the higher apsis; and the point in the epicycle nearest to the Earth's centre, the lower apsis. In the epicycle draw a transverse line passing through the centre of it [and at right angles to the above mentioned line which is called here Ucca-rekhā]. As the mean planet revolves with its Kendra-gati (the motion from its higher apsis) in the first and second epicycles marked with the 12 signs and 60 degrees towards the reverse signs, and according to the order of the signs respectively from its higher apsis. Mark off, therefore, the places of the first and second Kendras or distances from their respective higher apsides in the manner directed above; the planet must be fixed at those points. Here also the perpendicular line from the planet to the Ucca-rekhā is the sine ot the Bhuja of the kendra; and that from the planet on the transverse line is the cosine. The Bhuja-phala and Koṭi-phala are the sine and cosine in the epicycle. The Bhuja-phala is the Bhuja (the base) and the Karṇa (hypotenuse to complete the rightangled triangle) is the line intercepted. The equation of the centre is here the arc of the concentric intercepted between the mean place of the planet and the point cut by the hypotenuse. The equation thus found is to be added or subtracied as was before explained.[1]

Bhāskara, however, gives preference to the method of the eccentric which he describes at a considerable length and where he makes the circle invariable in magnitude. Bhāskara maintains that the Earth is in the centre of the universe, and the sun, the moon

1. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Bāpudev Śāstri's edition, Goḷādhyāya, Chap. V, verses 24—29.

and the five minor planets, Mars, Mercury, etc., revolve round the earth in circular orbits, the centres of which do not coincide with that of the earth, with uniform motion. The circle in which a planet revolves is called Prativṛtta, or eccentric circle, and a circle of the same size which is supposed to have the same centre as that of the earth, is called Kakṣāvṛtta or concentric circle. In the circle, the planet appears to revolve with unequal motion, though it revolves in the eccentric with equal motion. The place where the planet revolving in the eccentric appears in the concentric is its true place and to find this, a correction called Manda-phala (1st equation of the centre) is applied to the mean place of the planet. A mean planet thus corrected is called Manda-Spaṣṭa, the circle in which it revolves is called Manda-Prativṛtta (1st eccentric) and its farthest point from the centre of the concentric, Mandocca (1st higher apsis). As the mean places of the sun and the moon when corrected by 1st equation become true at the centre of the Earth, this correction alone is sufficient for them. But the five minor planets, Mars, Mercury, etc., when corrected by the 1st equation are not true at the centre of the Earth but at another place. For this reason, astronomers have assumed the concentric circle as second eccentric of these five planets, they take another circle of the same size and of the same centre with the earth as concentric, and in order to find the place where the planet revolving in the second eccentric appears, in this concentric, they apply a correction called Śīghra-phala or second equation of the centre, to the mean place corrected by the 1st equation. The Manda-Spaṣṭa planet, when corrected by the second equation is called Spaṣṭa or true planet, the second eccentric is called Śīghra-Prativṛtta, and its farther point from the centre of the Earth is called Śīghrocca, the 2nd higher apsis.[1]

Bhāskara says, "As the centre of the circle of the constellation of the Zodiac coincides with the centre of the Earth, and the centre of the circle in which the planet revolves does not coincide with the centre of the Earth, the observer, therefore, on the Earth does not find the planet in its mean place on the Zodiac. Hence the correction called Bhuja-phala (equa-

1. *Vide* the foot-note by Paṇḍit Bāpudev Śāstrī under verse 7, Goḷādhyāya Chap. V, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, edited by Wilkinson and B. D. Śāstrī.

tion of centre) is applied to the mean place of the planet to get the true place."

Then Bhāskara proceeds to give a construction of a diagram to illustrate the eccentric theory. "In the first place, describe a circle with the compass opened to the length of the radius (3438). This called the Kakṣāvṛtta, or concentric circle; at the centre of the circle draw a small sphere of the Earth with a radius equal to $\frac{1}{15}$th of the mean daily motion[1] of the planet. In this concentric circle, having marked it with 360^0, find the place of the higher apsis and that of the planet, counting from the first point of Aries; then draw a perpendicular diameter passing through the centre of the Earth and the higher apsis (which is called Ucca-rekhā; the line of the apsides) and draw another transverse diameter perpendicular to the first also passing through the centre. On this line which passes to the highest apsis from the centre of the Earth, take a point at a distance from the Earth's centre equal to the eccentricity or the sine of the greatest equation of the centre, and with that point as centre and the radius equal to the radius of the concentric, draw the Prativṛtta or eccentric circle. The Ucca-rekhā answers the like purpose also in this circle, but makes the transverse diameter different in it. Where the Ucca-rekhā, perpendicular diameter, (when produced) cuts the eccentric circle, that is the place of the higher apsis in it also. From this, mark the first steller Aries, at the distance in degree of the highest apsis; the place of the planet must be then fixed counting the degree from the mark of the 1st Aries in the usual order. The distance between the higher apsis and the planet is called the kendra. The right line let fall from the planet on the Ucca-rekhā is the sine of Bhuja of the Kendra. The right line falling from the planet on the transverse diameter is the cosine of the Kendra, it is upright and the sine of Bhuja is a transverse line. Therefore the sum or difference of the cosine and eccentricity (respectively) is here the Sphuṭa-koṭi (*i. e.* the upright side of a right angled triangle from the place of the planet in the eccentric to the transverse diameter in the eccentric), the sine of the Bhuja (of the kendra) is the Bhuja (the base) and the square root of the sum of the squares of the Sphuṭa-koṭi and Bhuja is called Karṇa, hypotenuse. This hypotenuse is the distance between the Earth's centre and the

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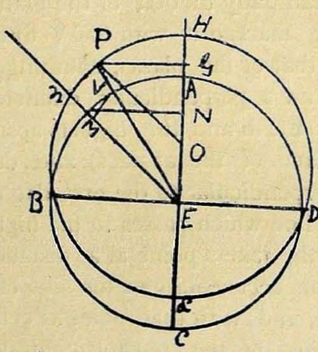
1. Hindu astronomers take the horizontal parallax $=\frac{1}{15}$ of the daily motion.

planet's place in the eccentric circle. The planet will be observed in that point of the concentric cut by the hypotenuse. The equation of the centre is the distance between the mean and apparent places of the planet; when the mean place is more advanced than the apparent place, then the equation thus found is subtractive; when it is behind the true place, the equation is additive."[1]



The foregoing rules can be explained in this way. Suppose A B C D and H P L to be two circles having their radii each equal to 3438[1], the number of minutes in the radius, and their centres E and O at a distance from each other equal to the number of minutes in the greatest equation of the centre of a planet's orbit. If E represents the centre of the earth, then the circle A B C D is called the concentric and H P L whose centre is O is called the eccentric. The line joining O E, and produced is the line of apsides. The point H, where it meets the eccentric is the higher apsis, and L the lower. Now suppose the planet moving in the eccentric describes the arc H P, in the same time that an imaginary planet moving in the concentric with the same mean motion, describes the arc A M, then the arcs A M and H P being equal, the radii, M E and P O are parallel, and the lines M P and E O joining equal and parallel lines are themselves equal and parallel; therefore, P M, the line joining the true and imaginary planet is always equal and parallel to the eccentricity E O. Now the line E P joining the centre of the Earth with the planet, is the direction in which the planet will be seen from E, and V the point in which it meets the concentric is called the true place of the planet; the distance M V between the mean and

1. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi—B. D. Śāstrī's edition, Goḷādhyāya, Chap. V, verses 10—17.

true places is the equation of centre. The are M A is the kendra or mean anomaly = K and M N drawn from M perpendicular to H E = sin M A = sin K[1], N E is the cosine of M A = Cos K. In $\triangle$s M Pn and P E G, $\frac{Mn}{MP} = \frac{PG}{PE}$ or $Mn = \frac{MP.PG}{PE} = \frac{e \operatorname{Sin} K}{PE}$

$$\text{Also } PE = \sqrt{PG^2 + EG^2} = \sqrt{\sin^2 K + (\cos K \pm e)^2}$$

$$\therefore (\text{Sin equation of centre}) = Mn = \frac{e \operatorname{Sin} K}{\sqrt{\sin^2 K + (\cos K + e)^2}},$$

Sin K is here the line M N or its equal P G of the figure. It is sometimes called the "sine of the Bhuja of the Kendra", at other times it is called the "Bhuja of the Kendra", and again more briefly "the Bhuja"; cos K which is the line N E or its equal G O is sometimes called the "Koṭi", at other times "the sine of the Koṭi", and more at length "the sine of the Bhuja of the complement of the Kendra," the line P E is the Karṇa or hypotenuse, and we have Karṇa^2 = Bhuja^2 + Sphuṭa Koṭi^2. In the case of the Epicycle, the sine becomes Bhuja-phala and the cosine is Koṭi-phala.

Bhāskara then explains the motion in Double Eccentrics in the following verse:—"The mean planet moves in its Manda-Prativṛtta (first eccentric); the Manda Spaṣṭa planet (*i. e.* whose mean place is rectified by the first equation) moves in its Śīghra-Prativṛtta (second eccentric). The Manda-Spaṣṭa is, therefore, here assumed as the mean planet in the second process (*i. e.* in finding the second equation)."

For this reason, having assumed the Manda Spaṣṭa planet for the mean, which Manda-Spaṣṭa can be determined in the concentric by describing the eccentric circle etc., through the mean planet and Mandocca, we are to mark the place of the stellar Aries from the Manda-Spaṣṭa place in the reverse order of the signs and then determine the place of the Śīghrocca in the order of the signs. Through the places of the stellar Aries and Śīghrocca we are to describe the 2nd eccentric circle etc., in the way mentioned above and then to find the place of the true planet in the eccentric.[1]

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1. Sin K of Hindu astronomy is the same as R. sin K of modern astronomy.

2. *Vide* notes by Paṇḍit Bapudev Śāstrī under verse 18, chap. V Golādhyāya, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, edited by himself and Wilkinson.

Bhāskara then proceeds to compare the motions in the epicycles and eccentrics, by constructing the mixed diagrams of the eccentric and epicycle. He says "The planet appears to move forward from Mandocca or 1st higher apsis, in the eccentric circle with its Kendra-gati (the motion from its Mandocca) and in the order of the signs and to the East; from its Śīghrocca, 2nd higher apsis, it moves in antecedentia or reversely, as it is thrown backwards. When the epicycle, however, is used, the reverse of this takes place, the planet moving in antecedentia from its 1st higher apsis and in the order of the signs from its 2nd higher apsis. Now as the actual motion in both cases is the same, while the appearances are thus diametrically opposed, it must be admitted, therefore, that these expedients are the mere inventions of wise astronomers to ascertain the amount of equation."

These two methods of calculation, whether by assuming the motions as being in an eccentric or in epicycle, lead to the same results exactly. But it is seen that, whereas the planet on the former hypothesis is conceived to move in the direction of the signs, on the latter hypothesis the apparent motion of the planet in the Epicycle would be in a contrary direction. It is thus indicated by Bhāskara, "If the diagrams (of the eccentric and epicycle) be drawn unitedly, and the place of the planet be marked off, in the manner before explained, then the planet will necessarily be in the point of intersection of the eccentric and the epicycle."

"If the figure for the eccentric and concentric be first drawn, then the planet moving in the eccentric, and starting from H, the higher apsis, is supposed to have described the arc H P in the direction of the signs, and the line P M drawn parallel to H E, will meet the concentric in the point M, the place of the imaginary mean planet supposed to be moving in that circle,and P M is equal to E O, the eccentricity. If now with M, as a centre, and a radius equal to the eccentricity, a circle be described, this circle will be the epicycle, in which a planet moves through the arc H P from the higher apsis H, in the same time its centre will have described the arc A M of the concentric, and the radius being equal to the eccentricity, it is equal to H P, or the epicycle and the eccentric intersect in the same points and all the other lines and angles of the figures, according to one method are identical with those of the other method. It is always obvious that in

the eccentric the planet will move on the arc HP of the eccentric in the direction of the signs of the Zodiac; but in the epicycle, the arc H P of that circle is in a direction opposite to the signs."[1]

There is, however, some difference in the methods used by the Sūrya-Siddhānta and Śiromaṇi. The chief difference lies in the definition of Kendra. In Bhāskara's work (1) the Kendra in Siddhānta Manda Epicycle = longitude of the mean planet—the longitude of the Ucca;—(2) the Kendra in Śīghra Epicycle = longitude of Ucca longitude of the mean planet. But in the Sūrya Siddhānta Kendra = longitude of the Ucca—longitude of the mean planet in both Manda and Śīghra operations. Again Bhāskara directs that the Kendra should be given in the Manda and Śīghra epicycles in opposite directions (*i. e.* with the motion of the meanplanet in the Śīghra and against it in the Manda). But the Sūrya Siddhānta gives only one rule (*i. e.* it is to be in the direction of motion of the mean planet)[2]. Again to ascertain where the equation is positive or negative, the Sūrya Siddhānta gives one comprehensive rule, *viz.*, "the equation is positive when the Kendra is within six signs (180^0) and negative when the Kendra, is between six and twelve signs (180^0 to 360^0) in both the Śīghra and the Manda operations."[3] Where as Bhāskara gives two distinct rules, *viz.*, "in the Manda operation when the Kendra lies between 6 and 12 signs, the equation is positive, and when the Kendra lies within six signs, the equation is negative; the reverse is the rule in the Śīghra operation."[4]

Hence we can conclude by saying that the Hindu methods of calculating the mean motions by means of epicycles and eccentrics are purely original inventions and are in no way influenced by the Greek methods.[5]

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1. Brennand's Hindu Astronomy, page 227.
2. *Vide* an article by Prof. P. C. Sengupta on Planetary Motion, page 34.
3. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chap. II, verse 45.
4. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi. Grahagaṇita, Chap. VIII, verse 18.
5. Mr. G. R. Kaye is wrong in assuming Greek influence in an article published in J. A. S. B. No. XV, 1919.

SOME MISTRANSLATED ŚLOKAS OF THE DAŚARŪPA

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It is far better, it always seemed to me, to save our ancient texts from misinterpretation than to build theory after theory about their authors and date which in many cases—to use Max Muller's words—collapses at the first breath of criticism or scepticism. I do not know whether attention has been fully drawn to the fact that many are the works that have suffered much at the hands of scholars whose study of Sanskrit was only very limited and superficial. I propose here to give a few instances from Haas' translation of the Daśarūpa.

1. The following is the 2nd śloka of the 1st pariccheda :

daśarūpānukāreṇa yasya mādyanti bhāvakāḥ
namaḥ sarvavide tasmai Viṣṇave Bharatāya ca.

and its translation is :—

"Homage to that omniscient Viṣṇu whose senses revel in the semblance of his ten forms [of incarnation], and to Bharata, whose poetic sensibilities revel in the imitation of the ten forms [of drama] (*daśarūpa*)."

Here we see that the translator takes the word *bhāvaka* to mean 'senses' and 'sensibilities', whereas it really means 'meditators' and 'men of taste.' For senses and sensibilities we should have '*bhāvanā*'; not *bhāvaka*. And the translator thinks that *yasya* goes with *bhāvaka*. But it is not so. It should be taken with *daśarūpānukāreṇa*. Perhaps this misunderstanding of his was due to the fact that, in his explanation of the above śloka, Dhanika places the word *yasya* after the explanation of *daśarūpānukāreṇa* and before the word *bhāvaka*:

daśarūpānukāreṇeti : ekatra matsya-kūrmādi-pratimānām
uddeśena anyatra anukṛti-rūpa-nāṭakādinā yasya
bhāvakāḥ dhyātāraḥ rasikāśca, mādyanti-hṛṣyanti.

Though here *yasya* preceds *bhāvaka*, it should not be so construed. This will be apparent when we note the impropriety of the sense that we have—whose (Bharata's) men of taste. Men

of taste cannot be Bharata's. But the daśarūpa (ten kinds of drama) may well be said as Bharata's on account of their being defined and elaborately treated by him in his Nāṭya Śāstra. So the correct translation of the śloka should be as follows :—

Viṣṇu by whose assumption
'Homage to that..........and...........
Bharata by staging of whose

of ten forms, *matsya*, *kūrma* etc. — medilators — become highly
ten kinds of drama — men of taste
pleased.'

2. Kasya cid eva kadā cid dayayā viṣayam Sarasvatī viduṣaḥ
ghaṭayati kam api tam anyo vrajati jano yena vaidagdhīm.

is the next śloka, which Haas translates into :—

> 'Sarasvatī through her favour furnishes to any intelligent man at any time that subject, whatever it be (*kam api*), by which somebody else becomes cultured.'

and he adds his notes :—

> " The sense is : The goddess Sarasvatī freely provides themes for literary works to persons of intelligence, and through these works culture is diffused among others."

We can hardly meet with a more perverse translation of a Sanskrit text. The author of the Daśarūpa means to say in this śloka that it is only on a rare occasion and on a rare man that Sarasvatī bestows her blessings, furnishing the man with a theme by which others become highly cultured. This the author says in order to make it known to us that such a treatise as the Daśarūpa is not an ordinary production in the literary world, but very rare, wherefore we should not miss it. This is meant by Dhanika's introductory words.

śrotuḥ pravṛtti-nimittam pradarśyate—

One wonders that *kasya cid eva*, *kadā cid eva*, and *kam api* should mean to the translator, 'any intelligent man', 'at any time', and 'whatever it be.'

3. The following is the 122nd section of the 1st pariccheda in the translation of the Daśarūpa:

nāṭyadharmām(n) apekṣyaitat punar vastu tridheṣyate.

'This subject-matter [just mentioned] is further declared to be of three kinds, with regard to the dramatic ruls (*nāṭyadharma*)'.

Notes.—This section serves as an introduction to sections 123-128. Contrary to the usual practice of our author, the three kinds are not specially named and enumerated before they are taken up individually in sections 123-124, 125-127, and 128.

The mistake in these notes will be at once seen it we read the second half of the śloka :

sarveṣām niyatasyaiva śrāvyam aśrāvyam eva ca.

which means :—

1. That which may be heard by all (*sarva-śrāvya*) ;

2. That which is to be heard by a particular person *niyata-śrāvya*) ;

3. That which is not to be heard by any body (*aśrāvya*).

Haas translates into :

> 'Of the matter in hand (*niyatasyaiva*?) some is to be heard by all, some is not to be heard by all.'

Of the above mentioned three kinds, the first and last is spoken of in the first half of the next śloka (section 124), while the second (*niyata-śrāvya*) is sub-divided in the latter half (section 125). The whole of the next śloka (section 126) defines the first sub-division (*janāntam*); and then there is only a single line (section 127), which defines the second sub-division *apavāritam*). Here is the end of the topic which was begun in

nāṭyadharmān apekṣyaitat punar vastu tridheṣyate (Sec. 122).

The author Dhanañjaya explains in the next śloka (sec. 128) what is called *ākāśa-bhāṣita* which has no relation whatever with the previous topic. Dhanika's explanatory words though sparingly used are all in these places very clear; and introducing this śloka he says:—

nāṭyadharma-prasaṅgād ākāśa-bhāṣitam āha—

So to say, as Haas has said in the above quoted notes in apparent contradiction to the commentary, '...they are taken up individually in sections 123-124, 125-127, and 128' only testifies to a superficial study of the Daśarūpa.

LITERARY NOTES.

(Continued from the previous part)

II

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE TATTVASAMĀSA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M. A.

LIBRARIAN, ADYAR LIBRARY.

Almost all writers on Indian Philosophy have unanimously held the Sāṅkhya work called Tattvasamāsa to be of comparatively recent origin (*i. e.*) later than Mādhavārya, the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha, for that work has not been referred to in the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha. Prof. Das Gupta in his History of Indian Philosophy says, "Another short work of late origin is 'Tattvasamāsa' (probably 14th century)"[1] Dr. Keith in his Sāṅkhya System regards the work to be later than 1380, the time when the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha was composed.[2] Prof. Garbe in his Sāṅkhya Philosophy says that it should have been written after 1400 A. D.[3]

It was only Professor Max Muller that was prepared to assign a high antiquity to that work. According to him the Tattvasamāsa was one of the oldest and basic works of the Sāṅkhya System.

Curiously enough we find extracts from this Tattvasamāsa quoted in a work which belongs to the period of Mahendravikramavarman, the famous Pallava King of Kāñcī, in the 7th century of the Christian Era. The work called Bhagavadajjukam attributed to one Bodhāyana Kavi is mentioned in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription of the Pallava King (*i.e.*) Mahendravikramavarman. In volume IV of the South Indian Inscriptions, we find that inscription edited, but the editor reads मगवदज्जुकम् instead of Bhagavadajju-

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1. History of Indian Philosophy Vol. I, p. 212.
2. Sāṅkhya System, p. 91.
3. Sāṅkhya Philosophy, p. 68—70.

kam. The word occurs along with others (*i.e.*) Mattavilāsa etc. One can easily see that there is a confusion between म and भ and the reading मगवदज्जुकम् makes no sense. Recently certain epigraphists who have seen the inscription personally declare that it is only भ and not म. Consequently we find that the Bhagavadajjukam belongs to a period earlier than the 7th century A. D.

In the Bhagavadajjuka we find the following passage:—

शाण्डिल्यः—[१]भअवं ! किं ण जाणासि पुडमं अहं पादरसणळोहेण सक्किअसमणअं पव्वजिदो ह्मि ।

परिव्राजकः—अस्ति किञ्चिदपि ज्ञातम् ?

शाण्डिल्यः—[२]अत्थि, अत्थि, पहूदं वि अत्थि ।

परिव्राजकः—भवतु । श्रोष्यामस्तावत् ।

शाण्डिल्यः—[3]सुणादु भअवो । "अष्टौ प्रकृतयः, षोडश विकाराः, आत्मा, पञ्चावयवः, त्रैगुण्यम्, मनः, सञ्चरः, प्रतिसञ्चारश्च" इति । एव्वं हि भअवदा जिणेण पिडअपुत्तएसु उत्तम् ।

परिव्राजकः—शाण्डिल्य ! साङ्ख्यसमय एषः, न शाक्यसमयः ।

Pages 14—15 of Prābhākara Śāstrin's
Edition of the Bhagavadajjuka.

The Tattvasamāsa-sūtras being very small in number, I shall give here the whole text of the Tattvasamāsa, to facilitate quick and easy reference. They are :—

1. अष्टौ प्रकृतयः
2. षोडश विकाराः
3. पुरुषः
4. त्रैगुण्यम्
5. सञ्चरः
6. अध्यात्मम्
7. अधिभूतम्
8. अधिदैवतम्
9. पञ्च वह्नयः
10. पञ्च कर्मयोनयः
11. पञ्चावयवः
12. पञ्च कर्मात्मानः
13. पञ्चपर्वाविद्या
14. अष्टाचत्वारिंशतिधा शक्तिः
15. नवधा तुष्टिः
16. अष्टधा शक्तिः

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1. The chāyā is as follows:

१. भगवन् ! किं न जानसि प्रथमं अहं प्रातरशनलोभेन शाक्यश्रमणकं प्रव्रजितोऽस्मि ।

२. अस्ति, अस्ति, प्रभूतमप्यस्ति ।

३. श्रृणोतु भवान् .... एवं हि भगवता जिनेन पिटकपुस्तकेषु उक्तम् ।

17. दश मूलिकार्था:
18. अर्थग्रहसर्ग:
19. चतुर्दशविधो भूतसर्ग:
20. त्रिविधो बन्ध:
21. त्रिविधो मोक्ष:
22. त्रिविधं प्रमाणम्

We may now institute a comparison between the phrases printed in thick type in the speech of Śāṇḍilya taken from the Bhagavadajjuka and the Sūtras of Tattvasamāsa printed in thick type. One can easily see for oneself that the author of the Bhagavadajjuka quotes from this book alone. This is proof unmistakable to regard the Tattvasamāsa as older than the Bhagavadajjuka.

The text of the Tattvasamāsa sūtras given here is based upon two of the Adyar Library manuscripts of that work. This text varies from the printed text of the Tattvasamāsa to some extent but the difference is not much.[1] **प्रतिसञ्चार:** quoted in the Bhagavadajjukam finds a place in the printed text. **मन:** is omitted in both.

One word has to be said with regard to the Tattvasamāsa Sūtras. Probably there were more Sūtras than we have at present. This conjecture is rendered possible when we take into consideration the quotation from the Bhagavadajjuka. **मन:** found in the Bhagavadajjuka is missing in the text of the Tattvasamāsa. *Manas* forms an important category in the scheme of Padārthas recognised by the Sāṅkhyas and consequently there is no reason why it should be omitted in the text. The Sūtra **पुरुष:** is replaced by the word **आत्मा** in the Bhagavadajjuka, but it does not seriously affect the argument. We may therefore safely conclude that the Tattvasamāsa was longer than it is at present; there must have been one more Sūtra at least.

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1. I quote here the sūtras of the Tattvasamāsa from the printed text so that the differences might be noted by sholars.

अष्टौ प्रकृतय: 2. षोडशकस्तु विकार: 3.
पुरुष: 4. त्रैगुण्यम् 5
सञ्चर:प्रतिसञ्चार: 6. पञ्चावयव: 10.

III

DATE OF THE SĀṄKHYA PRAVACANA SŪTRAS.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

The opinion current among orientalists regarding the date of the so-called Sāṅkhya Pravacana Sūtras is that it should be considered to be later than the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha for the obvious reason that he fails to mention that work. Omission cannot and should not always be regarded as a negative argument. It has been mentioned in the previous note that the Tattvasamāsa though not referred to in the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha, is still older. A similar statement may be made with regard to the Sāṅkhya Pravacana Sūtra also. If the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha does not refer to it, a contemporary and a near kinsman of his refers to the Sūtras and quotes one of those Sūtras. Mādhavamantrin, the famous commentator on the Sūtasaṁhitā quotes the following Sūtra in his commentary on the Sūtasaṁhitā.

अत एव साङ्ख्यैरुच्यते

"सत्त्वरजस्तमोगुणानां साम्यावस्था मूलप्रकृतिः" इति ।

P. 407 of the Sūtasaṁhitā. Madras Edition.

Now this Sūtra occurs as the 61st Sūtra in the first adhyāya of the Sāṅkhya Sūtras which we have at present.

Mādhavamantrin, pupil of Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, the general of the first dynasty of the Vijayanagar Kings, should not be confounded with Mādhavācārya, alias Vidyāraṇya, the famous commentator on the Vedas; he should be held distinct from Mādhavārya also, the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha. Mādhavārya is the later of the three in point of time.

Mādhavamantrin, Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavārya belong to the same period and they were contemporaries.[1] Consequently there is no reason to regard the Sāṅkhya Sūtras, now available, to be later than the author of the Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha.

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1. *Vide* "Sources of Vijayanagara History" p. 51.

THE SANGHAM LITERATURE.

By

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In the course of a comparative study of the Tamil Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram with the Sanskrit Kāvyādarśa, which I made early last year (soon after the publication of the Tamil Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram, second edition, by the late Cennākam Pandit Kumaraswami Pulavar) I came across the following passage in the Kāvyādarśa.

मुक्तकं कुलकं कोशस्सङ्घात इति तादृशः ॥

and the commentary of Taruṇa Vācaspati thereon (which Rao Bahadur M. Raṅgāchārya refers to as A in his edition) remarks

कोशः, नानाकर्तृकसुभाषितरत्नसमुदायः ।

सङ्घातः, एकार्थविषयः एककर्तृकः पद्यसङ्घातः, शरत्सङ्घातद्रमिडसङ्घा-तादिवत् ॥

The point that, I thought, is worth further investigation is this reference to Dramiḍa Saṅghāta.

The author of the Kāvyādarśa is reputed to have been a native of Conjeevaram and apparently he was well acquainted with the Dramiḍa works of note; and the commentator who seems to have clear notions of what Daṇḍin had in mind when he mentioned *Saṅghāta* refers to Dramiḍa Saṅghāta as a famous example of a Saṅghāta.

The Tamil Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram, the Sūtras of which at least are of great antiquity (two of which are quoted by Aḍiyārkku-Nallār) refers in the Sūtra portion to this Saṅghāta as Tokai (தொகை). It is interesting to note that this classification सङ्घात is not found in later writers on Alaṅkāra either in Sanskrit or Tamil. Now, let me extract the relevant passage from the other commentary Hṛdayaṅgamā which is also published by Rao Bahadur M. Raṅgachārya.

एकस्मिन्नेव प्रयोजने प्रवृत्ता नानाविधाः श्लोका भवेयुश्चेत् तथाविधानां समूहः सङ्घातः ॥

It is noteworthy that the 'eight collections' or எட்டுத் தொகை which form the so called Śaṅgam literature satisfy, each of them, the above definition.

Modern speculations about the chronology of the Ancient Tamil History are based on the conception of a Śaṅgam Age. There has been for centuries a tradition among Tamil poets and paṇḍits that there were three Tamil Śaṅgams at different ages of Tamil history.—The popular conception, at least so far as the third Śaṅgam is concerned, is that the forty-nine poets of that Śaṅgam or assembly were contemporaries who along with Lord Śiva sat at an assembly at Madura and formed an Academy to set their hallmark of approval on contemporary Tamil works.

The main source for these speculations is a passage in the commentary on Iraiyaṉār Aha Poruḷ. Critics have discussed the evidentiary value of this passage and considerably discounted it already[1]. I am not going to discuss in this short note the question again. But I would like to point out the following :—

(1) that poets ascribed in that commentary to the first and second Śaṅgams are found included in the existing collections which are attributed to the third Śaṅgam.

(2) the period ascribed to these forty-nine poets in the commentary is 1850 years—during the rule of 49 Kings of Madura, three of whom were recognised poets கவியரங்கேறினர்.

Therefore even if we accept this tradition as regards the third Śaṅgam, it is to be remembered that the poems included in the eight *Tokais* or Anthologies belonged to a period of nearly two milleniums ending with Ugra Peru Vaḻuti. There is therefore no basis for imagining as is often done, that the forty-nine poets were contemporaries.[2]

Another noteworthy point about these eight Anthologies is that they were compiled at different times ; the names of the poet who prepared each anthology and the king under whose patronage it was prepared is found mentioned in the published editions of these works. And an investigation into their dates will help considerably in fixing the ages in which the different Śaṅgam poets lived. In the absence of such investigation, it is rash to conclude that the forty-nine poets were contemporaries of one another and lived, as some say, in the early centuries before or after the Christian Era or, as others think, in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian Era.

1. See " Tamil Varalāṟu " By K. S. Srinivasa Pillai.
2. The Veṇbās called Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai are obvious forgeries.

The error seems to have arisen because of the reference to a conference of learned men under the patronage of a Pāṇḍya king which resulted in the obtaining of Aha Poruḷ by the grace of God Śiva. Stories of Jain Saṅghas were similarly current and these probably led the paṇḍits, poets and commentators of the mediaeval ages to imagine the three Śaṅgams or assemblies, contrary to the earlier tradition recorded in the commentary to Iriayaṉār Aha Poruḷ. The error gained strength by the fact that convocations or assemblies of learned men for the determination of the merits of a poem or of a system of philosophy were common in those days. It is to one such convocation when the Lord Himself entered the debating hall and won in the debate and got the prize and gave it to one Dharumi that St. Appar refers in his Tēvāram. At a similar convocation St. Periyāḻvār is supposed to have established the Paratva of Śrīmān Nārāyaṇa.[1]

There are references to சங்க in the Divya Prabhandams and in other works. These references are clearly to the Dramiḍa Saṅghāta works.

It is possible that the Sanskrit word Saṅghāta was adopted in a curtailed form as Saṅgha or that Saṅgha was a Sanskrit variant for Saṅghāta. Apart from these, there are no early references to the Saṅgham works as works of contemporary poets and they are invariably referred to as the eight *Tokais* (*i. e.*, Saṅghātams) or anthologies.

An emphasis on the *Saṅghāta* nature of these Tamil classics is necessary, in the interest of researches in Tamil chronology and the reference therefore by Taruṇa Vācaspati to Dramiḍa Saṅgāhta was, I thought, of considerable value.

I may add that in a recent edition of the Āryā verses of one Sundara Pāṇḍya the editor refers to these Tamil classics as द्रमिडसङ्घ poems, and I would commend this way of refering to the Tamil classics as Saṅgha works.

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1. See the தனியன்—ஈண்டிய சங்கம் எடுத்தேத்த.

MĀMALLAPURAM[1] AT THE SANGAM AGE.

By

Pandit. M. Raghava aiyangar,

Tamil Lexicon Office.

Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, the famous French historian, says in his *Pallava Antiquities* "Māmallai did not probably exist before the time of Pallava Narasihmavarman I and that it was this king that founded it, gave it the name of Māmallapuram after his own name of Māmalla and began the cutting of the *rathas* and caves therein." The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao also endorses the view on page 16 of his *History of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas.* No scholar has, till now examined this theory closely.

But, from my investigations, I find that the town ought to have existed even at the sangam period. Kaṭiyalūr-Uruttiraṅ-Kaṇṇaṉār, (கடியலூர்-உருத்திரங் கண்ணனார்) a poet of the Sangam Age describes in his Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai, how a poet, who received presents from Toṇḍaimāṉ-Iḷantiraiyan, the king of Kāñci, met on his way an another poet and advised him to go to the same king for bounty. In the course of the advice is described the flourishing condition of the country of Toṇḍaimāṉ and the way leading to Kāñci is given in full detail. The place described just before Kāñci is seen from the following lines :—

"நீர்ப்பெயற் றெல்லைப் போகிப் பாற்கேழ்
வாலுளைப் புரவியொடு வடவளந் தரூஉம்
நாவாய் சூழ்ந்த நளிநீர்ப் படப்பை
மாட மோங்கிய மணன்மலி மறுகிற்
பரதர் மலிந்த பல்வேறு தெருவிற்
*　　　　*　　　　*　　　　*
பட்டின மருங்கி னசையின் முட்டில்
*　　　　*　　　　*　　　　*
கொழுநிணத் தடியொடு கூர்நறாப் பெறுகுவிர்
வான மூன்றிய மதலை போல
எணி சாத்திய வேற்றருஞ் சென்னி
விண்பொர நிவந்த வேயா மாடத்

1. Māmallapuram is now known a Mahābalipuram or Seven Pagodas.

திரவின் மாட்டிய விலங்குசுடர் ஞெகிழி
உரவுநீ ரழுவத் தோடுகலங் கரையுந்
துறைபிறக் கொழியப் போகி ", (319-351).

The gist of the above lines is that one can see within the limits of Nīrppeyaṟṟu (நீர்ப்பெயற்று), a harbour full of ships carrying horses from western countries and merchandise from northern countries, streets full of store-houses of rich mariners and a lighthouse in a highly elevated place as if it were a prop to Heaven etc. This clearly shows that Nīrppeyaṟṟu ought to have been the sea-port of the country of Toṇḍaimāṉ in the same way as Koṟkai to the Pāṇḍyas, Muciri to the Cēras and Pukār to the Cōlas. That *Nīrppeyaṟṟu* was not distant from the capital of the Toṇḍaimāṉ is clear from the fact that it is the last town mentioned, which had to be passed through before reaching Kāñci.

If in the expression "நீர்ப்பெயற் றெல்லைப் போகி . . . . . பட்டினம் படரின் ", Nīrppeyaṟṟu had not been the name of the paṭṭiṉam or sea-port town itself, the author would surely have mentioned its name as in the following lines of Ciṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai.

" மணிநீர் வைப்பு மதிலொடு பெயரிய
பனிநீர்ப் படுவிற் பட்டினம் படரின் " (lines, 152-3).

Here 'மதிலொடு பெயரிய . . . . பட்டினம்' means the sea-port having the name of the fortress, or in other words, known as Eyiṟ-paṭṭiṉam (எயிற்பட்டினம்).

Nīrppeyaṟṟu means literally that which receives the shower of the sea ((நீர் + பெயல் + று) (*i. e.*) the city which abounds in sea-borne goods. Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār expresses the same idea in one of his hymns on the shore temple of Viṣṇu at Māmallapuram by the phrase *kalaṅkaḷ-iyaṅkum-mallai-k-kaṭaṉ-mallai* (கலங்க ளியங்கு மல்லைக் கடன்மல்லை) which means *Kaṭaṉ-mallai* (Māmallapuram) which is very prosperous on account of the in-coming and out-going ships. *Nīrppeyarttu* (நீர்ப்பெயர்த்து) is mentioned as another reading for the same at the foot-note by Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Swaminatha Ayyar Avl. This seems to be more appropriate since it means that which has the name of the sea. The word *nīr* means sea. This can be seen from ancient Nighaṇṭus as *Piṅkalantai* as also from the following quotations.—

" நீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியும் " (பட்டினப். பாலை, 185)
" நீரொலித் தன்ன நிறைவேற் றானையொடு "
(மதுரைக் காஞ்சி. வரி. 369.)

Evidently both the readings refer to Kaṭaṉ-mallai, the name by which Mahābalipuram is mentioned by the Āḻvārs. The practice of using the synonyms for the name of a thing or place will be seen from the following illustrations—

(i) 'Matil' is used for 'eyil' in the expression *matiloṭu-peyariya-paṭṭiṉam'*[1] (மதிலொடு பெயரிய பட்டினம்) which means, 'the sea-port having the name of the fortress' or in other words 'Eyiṟpaṭṭiṉam'.

(ii) 'Poṟkoṭi' is used for Vañci (Karūr) in the expression *Poṟkoṭi-p-peyarppaṭūum*[2]*-poṉṉagar*[2] (பொற்கொடிப் பெயர்ப்படூஉம் பொன்னகர்) which means the city having the name of the golden creeper (*i. e.* Vañci, the ancient capital of the Cēras known familiarly as Karūr).

(iii) 'Kuruku' is used for the bird *krauñca* in the expression *kuruku-peyar-k-kuṉṟam*[3] (குருகு பெயர்க்குன்றம்) which means *krauñcagiri.*

It will be observed that while in the above expressions we have the full name appearing in other words in the expression Nīr-p-peyarttu we have only the synonym of the word *kaṭal* (*nīr* =sea), part of the word *kaṭaṉ-mallai.* That the same poet was in the habit of translating part of the name of a place or thing and used it as if it represented the whole name can be seen from the following expression which appears in the Perumpāṇ-āṟṟu-p-paṭai, 'paṟavai-p-peyar-p-paṭu-vattam' (பறவைப் பெயர்ப் படுவத்தம்) is used to denote *irācāṉṉam* (இராசான்னம்), a kind of superior paddy. Here the word paṟavai (bird) is used to denote *aṉṉam* (swan), and the word *aṉṉam* obtained by translating '*paṟavai*' is used to signify the whole word *irācāṉṉam* (a kind of rice). Hence we may safely infer that the poet had recourse to the same artifice in the lines under consideration.

Nīrppeyarttu and Kaṭaṉ-mallai may, therefore be taken to denote the same place as Māmallapuram.[4] It is worth noting

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1. Śiṟupāṇ. l. 152-3.
2. Maṇi-mēkalai, 26, 92 ; 28, 101-2.
3. *Ibid.* 5, 13 ; Śilappatikāram, pp. 516, 517.

4. From inscriptions, we learn that *Jalaśayanam* was the name of the shore-temple at Māmallapuram. Jalaśayanam means 'the lying (posture of God) by water'. Māmallapuram is also known as 'Tala-śayanam', as in, 'தலசயனப் புறமான ஜதயூர்' (S. I. I. iii, p. 356) from the Viṣṇu temple of that name in the interior. This temple is so called be-

that a light-house existed there even at the Saṅgam period as is found now.

From the foregoing points it will be seen that even at the age of the Saṅgam Mahābalipuram was a famous sea-port where ships thronged in numbers and busy foreign trade was carried in an extensive scale. Hence the theory that Mahābalipuram was built by Narasihmavarman I in the middle of the 7th century as Dr. Dubreuil thinks is not supported by the available facts. On the other hand they point to the conclusion that the city was as ancient as the Saṅgam age and was improved to such a large extent by Narasimhavarman I with his architectural rathas, temples etc., that from his time it came to be called Māmallapuram, after his name Mahāmallan.[1]

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cause of the lying posture of the God on land. If Māmallapuram was ever known by the name of its shore-temple, Jalaśayanam, we can easily see that the expresssion 'Nīrppeyarttu' will mean that which has the name of water (jala) and was the place referred to as Māmallapuram. In this connection it is worth mentioning that Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Iyengar Avl. has suggested *nīrppāyar̲r̲alai-p-pōki* (நீர்ப்பாயற் றலைப் போகி), as an emendention for *Nīrppeyarttellaippōki.* If it be the original reading we can easily see that *nīr-p-pāyal* is exactly the literal translation of *Jalaśayanam.*

1. The same is dealt with in detail in my 'Āḷvārkaḷ Kālanilai' published in the Tamil monthly *Tamilian Friend*, Madras.

THE ABHISĀRIKĀ VAÑCITAKA[1]—A FORGOTTEN PLAY BY VIŚĀKHADEVA.

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Peterson in his introduction to the 'Subhāṣitāvalī' observes that among the verses that are attributed to Viśākhadeva in the anthologies, there are some that are not found in the Mudrārākṣasa; hence he legitimately infers that Viśākhadeva may have some other work also to his credit. This inference is true for there is a mention of the drama Abhisārikāvañcitaka in both the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and the Abhinavabhāratī, in Viśākhadeva's name.

The date of Viśākhadeva can be fixed with a fair degree of accuracy. As the late Mr. Justice Telang observes he " cannot be earlier " than the 8th century A. D.

Unlike the Mudrārākṣasa the Abhisārikāvañcitaka seems to be a love-play. The following are the references to the above drama.

i. कदाचित्कामोऽनुत्पद्यमानः अङ्गलीलालक्षणात् विचेष्टितात् उपजायते । नष्टरागप्रत्यानयनं वा ततो भवति । यथा विशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकाबन्धितके वत्सेशस्य पद्मावती भट्टशबरीवेषाद्याचरणरूपात् लीलाचेष्टितात् कामः प्रत्याख्यातः (प्रत्यानीतः or ? प्रत्यायातः)

P. 55, Vol. III. Abhinavabhāratī, deposited in the Govt. Oriental mss. Library, Madras.

ii. क्रोधो यथा--श्रीविशाखदेवकृते अभिसारिकावञ्चिते वत्सराजः सम्भावितपुत्रवधायै पद्मावत्यै क्रुद्धः । तथा च अभ्यधात्—

प्रदुष्टोग्रग्राहां सरितमवगाढः श्रमवशा-
दुपालीनश्शाखां फलकुसुमलोभाद्विषतरोः ।
फणाली.........नार्भीत्युत परिचयां क्रौर्यनितरां
विषज्वालागर्भां चिरमुरगकन्यामनुसृतः ॥

P. 484, Vol. II. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, deposited in the Govt. Oriental mss. Library, Madras.

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१. अभिसारिकया सत्या [शबरीवेषेण पद्मावत्या] वञ्चितः उदयनो यस्मिन् तत्, अभिसारिकावञ्चितकम् ।

From the above two extracts we understand that the play has two names (*e. i.*)

(1) Abhisārikāvañcita

(2) Abhisārikābandhitaka.

These two extracts furnish us with some material from which we may make some surmises as to the significance of the title and the nature of the plot.

It is well-known that Udayana was a love-hero of the *dakṣiṇa* type. It is also known how the minister Yaugandharāyaṇa lulled the king into the belief that Vāsavadattā was burnt, and persuaded him to marry Padmāvatī. In the same way a mischievous character in this play, might have, with the determined purpose of bringing about an estrangement between the king and Padmāvatī, set afloat the rumour that Padmāvatī killed Udayana's son and that she was a murderess.

Udayana had many wives and we do not know whether Padmāvatī, as the rumour had it, killed the son of Udayana born of Vāsavadattā or somebody else; but we may hazard a guess namely that it might be Udayana's son through Vāsavadattā.

Mutual jealousy and hatred are not unusual features where polygamy prevails and the capricious king probably gave full credence to the prevailing rumour. He lost his self-control. His deep love turned into deep hatred. Rage and fury took possession of him. He saw in Padmāvatī not the nymph of celestial beauty but a " serpent woman glowing with flames of poison". He rebuked Padmāvatī in menacing tones.

Poor Padmāvatī, a victim to slander, found that she had lost the love of Udayana. She tried to regain it. To go and plead before the king and to vindicate her innocence would be useless and futile. Hence she hit upon the following plan. Dressed as a charming huntress she attracted the attention of the tender-minded Udayana. As time rolled on Udayana found himself completely enmeshed in her love. When Padmāvatī found that the love of the king was genuine she revealed her identity. Probably then she explained her innocence.

Thus there is the नष्टरागप्रत्यानयन as said in the Abhinavabhāratī. This then explains the significance of the title. By a

clever impersonation of a huntress, Padmāvatī in the roll of an Abhisārikā deceives the king and regains her lost love.

"The course of true love never runs smooth" said Shakespeare and this play is another exquisite illustration of this statement. The plot appears to have been on the lines indicated above.

This drama also shows how Viśākhadeva finds himself in his elements alike in polity and Śṛṅgāra, and that he can make diction dance to the theme he chooses.

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ शब्दब्रह्मदर्शनम् ॥

BY

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I

'शब्दब्रह्मेति यच्चेदं शास्त्रं वेदाख्यमुच्यते ।
तदप्यधिष्ठितं' येन नमस्तस्मै चिदात्मने ॥

अस्ति विविधदर्शनपरिशीलनपचेलिमस्वान्तानां समेषामियं समा सम्प्रतिपत्तिः--यत्किल श्रुतिशिरसामैदम्पर्यं भिन्नेष्वभिन्नं दर्शनेषु, विच्छिन्नास्वविच्छिन्नं प्रक्रियासु, महासामान्यमिव चकास्ति ; यत्र च, प्रतिस्वं स्वप्रधानानीव बहूनि तन्त्राण्युपनिबध्नन्तोऽपि, सर्वज्ञकल्पा एकं भवन्ति मुनयः; तस्य भावयाथात्म्यस्य विना सम्प्रदायपरित्यागं, विना च दर्शनसङ्करम्, अखिलशास्त्रगतिसामान्येन संदर्शनं विपश्चितां भवति मुख्यं प्रयोजनम् । अनुरूपं च तत्तेषां तथाविधायाः श्रुतशीलयोस्सम्पद इति । किं बहुना, बाह्या अप्यद्यत्वे, न केवलं भारते वर्षे, विपुलायामेव विश्वंभरायां लब्धजन्मनां सितासितनैकविधतत्त्वनिबन्धानामवगतिसामान्यलिलक्षयिषया महान्तं यत्नमातिष्ठन्ते । अस्य च गतिसामान्यस्य लम्भने त्रयः प्रक्रमा भवन्ति । विरुद्धवदाभासं वेदवाक्यजातं दर्शनग्रन्थविभागं वा परित्यज्य नव्यमार्गेणापूर्वार्थसङ्कलनमिति प्रथमः, यं वेदबाह्या रोचयन्ते । त इमे संप्रदायविहीनतया कमपि सर्वानभिमतमर्थमुत्प्रेक्ष्य पर्यवसाने पुरुषार्थाद्याहन्येरन् । क्लिष्टयोजनान्तरकरणेन सर्वेषां ग्रन्थानामेकार्थसंपादनं नाम द्वितीयः, यं विज्ञानभिक्षुप्रभृतयः प्रतिपेदिरे । तेऽपि पाण्डित्यचिख्यापयिषामात्रप्रवर्तितव्याख्याभेदास्सन्मार्गावलम्बिनामनपेक्ष्याः । विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणाचार्यमधुसूदनसरस्वतीप्रमुखैरनुक्रान्तस्तृतीयः, यत्र किलाव्याहतसंप्रदायागतस्वस्वार्थनिष्ठानामेव वाक्यानां वक्तॄणां वा पर्यवसितभावसंगमनं विस्रम्भास्पदमायतते । यथाहुस्सुरेश्वराचार्याः—

"यथा यथा भवेत्पुंसां व्युत्पत्तिः प्रत्यगात्मनि ।
सा सैव प्रक्रिया ज्ञेया सा चाप्यत्रानवस्थिता ॥"

इति । मन्यामहे श्रीभगवत्पादा अपि द्वितीयाध्यायेऽविरोधप्रदर्शनगमनिकयामुं क्रममुद्भेदयामासुः ।

भर्तृहरिणाप्युक्तम्—

"उपायाः शिक्षमाणानां बालानामुपलालनाः ।
असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततस्सत्यं समीहते ॥" इति

तत्सिद्धं—उत्सृज्य प्रथमं द्वितीयं च पन्थानं विचार्य बहुधा सङ्ग्रहणीयस्तत्त्वदर्शनाभिमुखो लोकः पण्डितकुलेन, नापूर्वार्थप्रकल्पनया, न च यथावस्थितप्रक्रियाबाधनेनेति । तत् यदिदं प्रथमेन प्रक्रमेणाभिनवार्थोत्प्रेक्षणं पुरुषमतिवैश्वरूप्यादन्यान्यस्वभावमनवस्थितं तदिति नेह विचारक्षमम् । द्वितीयस्तु शास्त्राभिमतमार्गावलम्बनापदेशेन प्रवर्तितः; सम्भावितैश्च श्रीभट्टनागेशादिभिरुपाश्रितः । स कदाचित् तत्त्वविजिज्ञासूनां केषाञ्चिद्युक्तरूपः प्रतिभायादित्यवश्यं तदसारतादर्शनाय यतितव्यम् । तत्रापि शब्दब्रह्मदर्शनयोर्मतद्वयसिद्धप्रक्रियान्यथाकरणव्यावर्तनेन पर्यवसितभावानुगतिसंदर्शनायेह शब्दब्रह्मदर्शनं प्रक्रम्यते ।

तत्र प्रथमं तावच्छब्दतत्त्वनिरूपणावसरे निर्भेदस्वभावमान्तराखण्डवाक्यस्फोटमेव तत्तद्बाह्यार्थाध्यासकल्पनाया अधिष्ठानं प्रसाध्य तदनुप्रसङ्गेन विज्ञानभिक्षुणा सङ्कल्पितां सदसत्ख्यातिं सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्तमुत्प्रेक्षमाणस्य श्रीभट्टनागेशस्य व्यवसायमुपादद्महे; यस्य परीक्षणाद्द्वितीयस्य प्रक्रमस्यापरमार्थत्वं व्यक्तीभवेत् ।

चित्रमिदं ग्रहीष्यन्ति भावुकाः—कथमिव सर्वतन्त्रनिष्णातोऽयमपि विगीतमर्थमभिदधीतेति । अथवा गमनीयं कथमपि सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रक्रियांशेऽपि गतिसामान्यमिति स्वयंकृतदृढाभिनिवेशस्य मनोरथसंपत्तौ पुष्कलेयं साधनसम्पत्, यदखिलशास्त्रेषु पारगतमस्य प्रावीण्यमप्रतिहतश्च प्रज्ञाप्रसरः । तदिममेव कृतविमर्शमुपहरामो यस्य सारासारयोस्सन्तः प्रमाणम् ।

आलक्ष्यते हि श्रुतिपथमवतीर्णमात्रेषु शब्देषु समनन्तरभाविनी अर्थस्फूर्तिः । तत् कः खलु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः, येनायं प्रतिनियतोऽर्थसम्प्रत्यय इति? एवं विचिन्वाना नानैवानयोस्सम्बन्धभेदान् पृथग्वर्त्मानश्शास्त्रस्थास्सन्ददृशुः । ईश्वरेच्छा शब्दार्थयोस्सम्बन्ध इति केचित् । अनुभावकत्वं तदित्यन्ये । शब्दार्थयोः परस्पराध्यासगृहीतं तादात्म्यं, तन्निर्ग्राह्यो वाच्यवाचकभावो वा स इति वैयाकरणाः ।

तत्र विच्छिन्नयोरिव सतोः शब्दार्थयोरसम्भाव्यमभेदाध्यसनमिति तत्सम्भावयितुमनाः श्रीभट्टनागेशः ससाक्षिकया बुद्धिवृत्त्या बहिर्दर्शितानपि विषयान् तस्या एव बुद्धिवृत्त्यै प्रत्यर्पयामास । एवमन्तस्सञ्चारितेषु विषयेषु, अर्थानां तदुपग्राहिवृत्तीनां, शब्दस्य च तत्र तादात्म्यं सम्भवदध्यासमुपकल्प्य सर्वं रमणीयं मेने । अथ च यथेयं प्रक्रिया सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्तः स्यात् श्रुतिसिद्धा च, तथा संविधानाय सुदूरमन्विष्यन् साङ्ख्यप्रवचनभाष्यं नाम कञ्चन संवादग्रन्थमुपलेभे । वितर्कयामो, यस्य प्रणेता विज्ञानभिक्षुस्तदात्वे बहुभिः प्रामाणिक इति परिगृहीतः स्यात् ।

तत्त्वतस्सर्वसङ्करवादी सोऽयं विज्ञानभिक्षुरन्वर्थनामा, यस्य विज्ञानं बहुभी रूपैराकीर्णं दृश्यते । तत आच्छिन्नैः प्रकीर्णकैरर्थैः सङ्घटितेयं प्रक्रिया कथं नाम हृदयमधिरोहेदिति सुधियो विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु ।

प्रसाध्यैवं बौद्धयोः शब्दार्थयोरभेदं, ततस्त्रस्यन्नात्मख्यातिभयात्, सदसत्ख्यातिं नाम भिक्षूक्तं वादमुपचिक्षेप । सर्वं किल वस्तुजातमान्तरेणात्मना सदपि बाह्येन रूपेणासदेव । तस्य सदसतो भानं—ख्यातिरिति सविस्तरमाचख्यौ । अस्यां च ख्यातौ "सदसत्ख्यातिर्बाधाबाधाभ्याम्[1]" इति साङ्ख्यप्रवचनसूत्रं प्रमाणमिति ।

अत्रेदं वक्तव्यम् । भवेदेतदेवं यदि नाम ख्यात्यंशे वैयाकरणाः साङ्ख्यवादमवलम्बन्त इति किमपि निश्चितं प्रमाणमुपलभेमहि ; यदि वा यथोक्ता ख्यातिस्साङ्ख्यैराद्रियेत । तत्रानादरणादेव स्वग्रन्थेषु नेदृग्विधां ख्यातिमपेक्षते कोऽपि वैयाकरण इति बहिरेव प्रथमः पक्षो निरोद्धव्यः । अथापि स्यात्— अपुरस्कृतापि स्वैरियमप्रतिषेधमात्रादनुमन्येत, यदि व्यवतिष्ठेत लब्धरूपा केषाञ्चिद्दर्शने । यावदियं प्रतिपक्षभूतैरख्यात्यन्यथाख्यातिवादैः प्रतिबद्धप्रसरा नैवात्मानं लभते साङ्ख्यादिदर्शनेषु ; तदा कोऽस्या अप्रतिषेधः, दूरत एवानुमतिः ।

तथा हि विधीयमाने साङ्ख्यदर्शनस्य कोष्ठशोधने न शक्यं निलीनरूपाप्येषा क्वचिल्लक्षयितुम् । "सत्त्वपुरुषान्यताज्ञानं मोक्षनिबन्धनम्" "विवेकख्यातिपर्यन्तं ज्ञेयं प्रकृतिचेष्टितम्" । "[2]लिङ्गस्याविनिवृत्तेस्तस्माद्दुःखं स्वभावेन।" इति च तत्र तत्र प्रकृतिपुरुषयोर्भेदाग्रहप्रतिबद्धमिव, तद्ग्रहणमात्रायत्तलाभमिव च

१. साङ्ख्यप्रवचनसूत्रम् . ५. ५६.
२. साङ्ख्यकारिका. ५५.

मोक्षमभिव्याहरन्तः खरसोन्नीतामख्यातिमेवाभिप्रयन्ति साङ्ख्या इति गम्यते । न चाविचारितमूलं 'अख्यातिवादी प्रभाकरः' इति लोकप्रतीतिमवलम्ब्यासाङ्ख्यत्वमस्य निर्बन्धमात्रेणास्थातुं युक्तम् । युक्तं तु साङ्ख्येभ्य एव प्राभाकरा इमं वादं परिजगृहुरिति प्रज्ञातुम् । तथा चाख्यातिनिरूपणगतां "एतेनान्यसम्प्रयोगेऽन्यविषयज्ञानस्य स्मृतित्वतत्प्रमोषौ सर्वत्र व्याख्यातौ द्रष्टव्यौ[1]" इति पञ्चपादिकामेवमवतारयन्ति विवरणाचार्याः—"नन्वतत्त्वे तत्त्वज्ञानमिति शास्त्रकारेणैव दर्शितस्संसर्गविभ्रम इति नेत्याह—एतेनेति" । शास्त्रकारेणेति—साङ्ख्येनेत्यर्थः । एतदुक्तं भवति—प्रमास्मृतिभ्यामन्यो भ्रमो नाम न तृतीयो ज्ञानराशिस्समस्ति ; सेयं भ्रमज्ञानमात्रस्याभावोऽख्यातिरिति प्रत्यवतिष्ठमानैः प्राभाकरैरन्यैर्वा यथामूलोदितं प्रत्यवस्थातव्यम्, न विपर्ययेण, तदिह ; अतत्त्वे इति संसर्गार्थां सप्तमीविभक्तिं प्रयुज्य भवतां शास्त्रकारः कपिल एव संसर्गविभ्रममाह; तत्कथं संसर्गाग्रहणं भ्रम इति शङ्कासमाधानाय 'एतेन' इत्यादिमूलं—इति । अवतारितस्य मूलस्य "वक्तव्ये च पूर्ववादिनाप्यविवेके संसर्गज्ञानकल्पनागौवादख्यातिरेव युक्तेति भावः[2]" इति विवरणं स्पष्टार्थम् । एतेनासत्यपि संसर्गावमर्शे, यत् संसर्गाभिमानस्तद्व्यपदेशो वा भ्रमत्वाभिमतज्ञानस्य फलं, तदभिप्रायं शास्त्रकृद्वचनं व्याख्यातमिति वेदितव्यम् ।

अपि च न्यायसिद्धेऽस्मिन्नर्थे लिङ्गदर्शनं भवति । एतद्वाददूषणोपसंहारे पञ्चपाद्यामुक्तं "[3]तथा च तन्त्रान्तरीया आहुः [4]अनुभूतविषयासम्प्रमोषा स्मृतिः इति" । कथं कृत्वेदं ज्ञापकम् ? तन्त्रान्तरशब्देन पातञ्जलं योगदर्शनमाह । प्रस्तुतादन्यत् प्रस्तुतेन सजातीयं तन्त्रं तन्त्रान्तरमुच्यत इति शाब्दन्यायविदः । तथा ह्यस्य गोर्द्वितीयोऽन्वेष्टव्य इत्युक्ते गौरेव द्वितीयोऽन्विष्यते नाश्वः पुरुषो वा । तदनेन योगदर्शनेन प्रस्तुतसजातीयेन भवितव्यम् । यथा च साङ्ख्येन सजातीयं तत्, नैवं प्राभाकरेणेतीदं साङ्ख्यसम्मतस्याख्यतिवादस्येह प्रस्तुतत्वे लिङ्गम् ।

अथवा नावश्यं मूलव्याख्यानयोरेवं निगूढभावसंवेदनायातितरां क्लेशोस्सोढव्यः । साङ्ख्यमतविवेचनावसरे प्रत्यक्षमेवाचार्यब्रह्मानन्दसरस्वत्यो वदन्ति । इदं तन्मतोपसंहारस्थितं तदीयं वचनम्—"एवं चासंसर्गग्रहेण न कस्यापि बाध इति लाघवम् । अत एव भ्रमस्थले प्राभाकरोऽप्येवमाहेति भावः" [5]इति । इदं रजतमिति संसर्गज्ञानाश्रयणे ख्यात्यन्तरेष्विव नेदं रजतमिति ज्ञानेन तस्य बाधः कल्प-

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१. पञ्चपादिका. ७. पृ. २. पञ्चपादिकाविवरणम् . २३. पृ. ३. पञ्चपादिका. ९. पृ.
४. योगसूत्रम् . १. ११. ५. सिद्धान्तबिन्दुटीका. ५९. पृ.

नीयः । तदकल्पनादस्मिन्मते लाघवमित्यर्थः । एवमख्यातिवादं प्राधान्येन साङ्ख्यमते प्रदर्श्य प्राभाकरे तमतिदिशति—अत एवेति । अनेनातिदेशेनेदं दृढीकृतं भवति—यत्तदुक्तमस्माभिः साङ्ख्येभ्यः प्राभाकरा इमं वादं परिजगृहुरिति । तस्मादख्यातिवादी साङ्ख्य इत्येष पक्षस्साधीयान् ।

अवश्यं चायमेव पक्षस्साधीयान् । साङ्ख्यादिबहुदर्शनपरिशीलिनामेतत्करबदरनिर्विशेषं प्रतिभाति—यत्साङ्ख्याः, उपयन्तोऽपि षष्टिं पदार्थानां, असङ्गादिस्वभावमात्मानमेव परमतात्पर्येण स्वशास्त्रे प्रतिपिपादयिषन्ति । न च तत्क्रमते नियतस्य प्रक्रियाविशेषस्योपगमादृत इति तादर्थ्येनेतरदर्थजातं निरूपयन्ति । अत एव "एतेन योगः प्रत्युक्तः"[1] इति सूत्रे साङ्ख्यादिदर्शनान्यंशेनांशेन वेदान्तार्थान्व्याचक्षाणानि कामं पुरुषबुद्धिसौकर्यमपेक्ष्य कामपि प्रक्रियां रचयन्तु; तात्पर्यविषयेषु त्वर्थेषु अनपोद्यमेषां प्रामाण्यमिति भाष्यभामत्योः स्थितम् । अत एव चांशेनापि तत्त्वयाथात्म्यं व्याचिकीर्षद्भिरस्मदीयैर्दर्शनकृद्भिः प्रक्रियैका प्रदर्श्यते, यत्र प्रमाणप्रमेयविभागः प्रतिकर्मव्यवस्था चेत्येवमादि सर्वं लोकयात्रानिर्वहणाय साधु समर्थितं चकास्ति । तस्याश्च प्रक्रियाया अभावहेतोर्हन्त! कति वा दर्शनाभासा उद्भिन्नमात्रा एवाद्यत्वेऽदर्शनं गताः । तदिह प्रेक्षावद्भिः प्रक्रियामात्रानभिनिविष्टैरपीदमेकं नोपेक्ष्येत, यस्यादेशाय सर्वज्ञकल्पा मुनयोऽवतेरुः ।

साङ्ख्यदर्शने चानया दृष्ट्या परीक्ष्यमाणे, योऽस्य प्रतिपाद्यः स्वप्रधानः पुरुषः, तस्य स्थापनायां कियानुपकारो भवति, केन वा ख्यातिवादेनेति विवेक्तव्यम् । अस्ति संसारित्वाभिमतस्यात्मनो बन्धो नाम, यस्मान्मोक्षमाणान्प्रति प्रवृत्ते निखिलं शास्त्रजातम् । तत्र प्रत्यगात्मनः कर्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वादिः स्वो धर्मः; कैवल्यावस्थायां सत्यपि तद्योगे साधनाभावात्किमप्यकुर्वन् , विषयसम्प्रयोगाभावादभुञ्जानश्च भोगान् विधूतबन्धस्तिष्ठतीति वैशेषिकादयः प्रतिपन्नाः । प्राक्च तत्त्वज्ञानान्नित्योऽप्यपरिच्छिन्नोऽपि स स्वस्मिन्नारोपितैरुपजनापायपरिच्छेदादिभिर्देहधर्मैरन्यथैव विभाव्यत इति मिथ्याज्ञाननिर्मूलनाय तैरन्यथाख्यातिवादिभिः पदार्थतत्त्वनिर्णयप्रधानं शास्त्रमारब्धम् । सा हि शक्तिः शक्येन विना न निरूप्यते । मोक्षदशायामपि तस्याः शक्यसम्बन्धोपगमे संसारादविशेष इत्यपरितुष्यन्त औपनिषदा इदं व्युदस्थापयन् । अन्तःकरणपर्यन्तस्य कार्यकरणसङ्घातस्यैव कर्तृत्वं भोक्तृत्वं च । आत्मा तु सदैव शुद्धः सदैव मुक्तः, केवलमविद्योपस्थापितेना-

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१. ब्रह्म. २. १. ३.

निर्वचनीयबन्धेन तद्वानिवाजायत इत्यविद्यानिवर्तकसाक्षात्कारपर्यन्ताय तत्त्वज्ञानाय तैस्सर्वे वेदान्ता आरभ्यन्ते ।

तदत्रापि दर्शनेऽनिर्वचनीयैरपि धर्मैः कल्पितेन संसर्गेण तद्वानिवेति सापेक्षवचनकरणादात्मनः कियानपि बन्धसंस्पर्शोऽङ्गीकृतः स्यात् । एवमनुशयानैस्साङ्ख्यैरख्यातिवादो दर्शितोपपत्तिरुपाजह्रे । अहो तस्य महर्षिकपिलस्य सुश्लिष्टं भावगाम्भीर्यम्! तदाहुरार्यमतयः

> "तस्मान्न बध्यतेऽद्धा न मुच्यते नापि संसरति कश्चित् ।
> संसरति बध्यते मुच्यते च नानाश्रया प्रकृतिः"[1] ॥

इति । एतदुक्तं भवति—बुद्धिधर्मा बुद्धावेव ; नारोपिता अप्यात्मनि, आरोपमात्रस्यैवालीकत्वात् । सुख्यहं दुःखी मूढ इति च व्यपदेशमात्रमिति ।

परमार्थतस्तु नानया दिशा तैरात्मनोऽसङ्गत्वं प्रत्याशा कार्या—प्रकृतिपुरुषयोः स्वस्वामिभावो बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बलक्षणस्संयोगो वा नित्य इति हि साङ्ख्या मन्यन्ते । तदेषां मते प्रकृतिसंयोगनिमित्तं मुक्तानां पुनरुत्पत्तिः, अनिर्मोक्षो वा प्रसज्येत । अतश्चात्मव्यतिरेकेणोपाधिमात्रस्य बाधने शास्त्रं प्रवर्तते । कल्पनैकशरीरानुपाधिधर्माननुपततोऽपि न तैरात्मनः कोऽपि संस्पर्शोऽस्ति । अध्यासं निरूप्य श्रीभगवत्पादा आत्मन ऐकान्तिकासङ्गत्वप्रतिपादनाय, मन्यामहे, विशेषतस्साङ्ख्यानां यथोपलक्षितातङ्कप्रतिसमाधानाय चैवमादिशन्ति "तत्रैवं सति यत्र यदध्यासस्तत्कृतेन दोषेण गुणेन वाणुमात्रेणापि स न सम्बध्यते"[2] इति । अत एव—तापकं रजः, सत्त्वं तप्यं, न पुरुषः; वेदान्तवादिनां तु तप्य आत्मैवेत्यनिर्मोक्षस्स्यात्—इति साङ्ख्यकृतस्याक्षेपस्य परिहारसाम्यं मतद्वये प्रदर्श्य पुनस्साङ्ख्यस्यैव दुर्वारमिमं दोषं प्रसञ्जयन्ति स्म भगवत्पादाः "[3]अदर्शनस्य तमसो नित्यत्वाभ्युपगमात्" इत्यादिनेत्यलम् । ईदृश्यामर्थव्यवस्थितौ विज्ञानभिक्षुणोपक्षिप्तस्य सदसत्ख्यातिवादस्य नेहावसरोऽस्ति कश्चित् । तस्माद्विमुच्य श्रीनागेशवचनेषु परमार्थप्रत्ययं, आभ्यन्तरविषयपरीक्षणेनाख्यातिवादी साङ्ख्य इति निर्णेतव्यम् ॥

स्यादेतत् चमसाधिकरणे अजामन्त्रव्याख्यानरूपमिदमस्ति भाष्यम् "तां प्रकृतिमज एकः पुरुषो जुषमाणः प्रीयमाणः सेवमानो वानुशेते । तामेवाविद्ययात्मत्वे-

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१. साङ्ख्यकारिका. २. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. १. १. १.

३. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. २. २. १०.

नोपगम्य सुखी दुःखी मूढोऽहमित्यविवेकितया संसरति"[1] इति । विवृतं चैतदाचार्यवाचस्पतिमिश्रैः "चितिशक्तिस्त्वपरिणामिन्यप्रतिसङ्क्रमापि बुद्धिसत्त्वादात्मनो विवेकमबुध्यमाना बुद्धिवृत्त्यैव विपर्यासेनाविद्यया बुद्धिस्थान्सुखादीनात्मन्यभिमन्यमाना सुखादिमतीव भवति" इति । भाष्यभामतीवचनयोरनयोः प्रधानवादसम्मत एव विवेकाग्रहपूर्वः प्रकृतिपुरुषयोरभेदाध्यासो धर्मसंसर्गाध्यासश्च व्यक्तमनूद्यमानः प्रतीयते । हन्त महता परिकरबन्धेन साङ्ख्यानामख्यातिं विचिन्वानाः कोष्ठशोधनका भाष्यभामतीभ्यां विरुध्यन्ते । "साङ्ख्यानामप्यस्ति भ्रमः । स च बुद्धावेवेति विशेषः" इति कल्पतरुणा च विशेषतः ।

सत्यं महावाक्यस्थानीयोऽयमजामन्त्रस्साङ्ख्यानाम् । सत्यं चेद्दशेन मन्त्रेण स्वमतमौपनिषदमाशङ्कमानं साङ्ख्यमवतारयद्भिरभिन्नतदीयप्रक्रियमेव मन्त्रार्थः प्रकाश्यते । तथापीदं तावत्पृच्छामः—कः खल्वनुशयः स्फुटार्थयोरनयोर्भाष्यभामत्योः? यन्निमित्तवैयाकुलीपरिहारायेवेदं साङ्ख्यानामपीति व्याख्यातुर्वचनम् । ननु चेदं कस्याप्यनुशयस्य परिहाराय स्यात्; स्पष्टप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं वा । सर्वं वाक्यं सानुशयमेव पश्यतो भवतो वा कः कामः समृध्यते? एवं तर्हि समर्थयिष्यामो वयम् । नास्तिभ्रमास्साङ्ख्या इति सिद्धं कृत्वा क्रममाणमिदमेव भवतां साक्षित्वेनानुक्रान्तं वचनं भवत्यलमस्मत्पक्षव्यवस्थापनायेति । प्रसिद्धं च प्रतिवादिनः साक्ष्यवचनेन मात्रय सूचितं वादिनोऽर्थं प्रमाणीकुर्वन्ति न्यायविदः ।

अथवा कृतमिहासद्व्यवहारस्थितं कौटसाक्ष्यमुदाहृत्य । साङ्ख्यानामस्ति भ्रम इति वाक्यार्थपर्यवसानमपि चिन्तनीयमेव । न वा किञ्चिदपूर्वमिवात्र चिन्तनीयमस्ति । चिन्तितपूर्वमेतदाचार्यदीक्षितेन्द्रैः । तथा ह्यनध्यवसायव्याख्यानरीत्यैव वाक्यमिदं तैर्व्याख्यायते—भ्रम इति । स त्वगृहीतासंसर्गधर्मधर्मिविषयज्ञानद्वयरूपः, तदुभयसंसर्गविषयैकैकज्ञानरूपो वेत्यन्यदेतत्—इति । इदमत्राकूतम्—साङ्ख्याः किल पुरुषस्यासङ्गत्वभङ्गभीरुका नान्यसंसर्गं तत्राध्यस्यमानं रोचयन्ते । "तामात्मत्वेनोपगम्य," "बुद्धिस्थान् सुखदुःखादीनात्मन्यभिनिविशमाना" इति च भाष्यभामत्योर्नायं संसर्गविभ्रमस्य सिद्धवदनुवाद इति भ्रमितव्यम् । धर्मधर्मिणोर्विवेकाग्रहणस्य फलमभेदसंसर्गव्यपदेशमात्रमिह भ्रमशब्देनोच्यते । एवं हि 'उपगम्य' 'अभिनिविशमाना' इति पदद्वयं सामञ्जस्येनानुगतं भवति । अथवा यथाश्रुताक्षरार्थग्रहणपरिश्रान्तमतय इत्थं व्युत्पादनीयाः । अस्तु संसर्गभ्रमः, न तावता पुरु-

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१. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. १. ४. ८.

षस्यासङ्गत्वमपैति । छायया बुद्धिवृत्तिं गाहमाने पुरुषतत्त्वे संसर्गविभ्रमो नाम । तत्रस्थः प्रतिबिम्बात्मैव तेन संस्प्रक्ष्यत इति । तदिदमप्युक्तं 'चितिशक्तिस्त्वपरिणामिन्यप्रतिसङ्क्रमापि' इति । तदाहुः---

"तस्मात्संयोगादचेतनं चेतनावदिव लिङ्गम् ।
गुणकर्तृत्वेऽपि तथा कर्तेव भवत्युदासीनः ॥" इति ।

वस्तुतो न पूर्वोक्तेन हेतुनात्मनः सङ्गकृतो दोषश्शमयितुं शक्यः । प्रतिबिम्बो नामोपाध्यन्तरुपलभ्यमानो बिम्ब उच्यते ; न बिम्ब एव साक्षात्, नापि वस्त्वन्तरम् । तद्यदिदं बुद्धिधर्माः प्रतिबिम्ब आरोप्यन्ते--बिम्ब एव तदारोपितास्ते भवन्ति । एतद्दोषपरिजिहीर्षयैवोक्तमित्यन्यत् इति । अन्यशब्देन द्वितीयाध्याये विशिष्य साङ्ख्यानुवादग्रन्थपरीक्षणेन सर्वेषामाचार्याणामख्यातिवादी साङ्ख्य इति निर्भरो व्यक्तीभविष्यतीति सूच्यते ।

स्यादेतत् । स तु भ्रमः बुद्धावेवेति विशेष इत्युक्तं कल्पतरौ । तत्कोऽसौ साङ्ख्यानां विशेषः? अयं विशेषः—अख्यातिवादिनां साङ्ख्यानां प्राभाकराणां च मते यद्यपीदं रजतमिति संसर्गविषयं चाक्षुषं भ्रमज्ञानं न सम्भवति, तथापि इदं रजतमिति रजतार्थिप्रवृत्तेः, सामानाधिकरण्यव्यपदेशस्य च भ्रमस्थलेषूपपादनाय साङ्ख्या अन्ततश्चाक्षुषज्ञानसमनन्तरभाविनं मानसमिदंरजतयोस्संसर्गावमर्शमुपेयुः । प्राभाकरास्तु—इदं रजतमिति न बाह्यं, नापि मानसं भ्रमज्ञानं समस्ति ; केवलं संसर्गाभिमानमात्रमेतत्, यन्मूला पुरोवस्तुनि प्रवृत्तिः, रजतव्यपदेशश्चेति व्यवस्थिताः । एवमविशिष्टेऽप्यख्यातिवादे मानससंसर्गप्रतिभासोपगमानुपगमाभ्यां साङ्ख्यप्राभाकरयोरस्ति विशेष इति । अत एव अतस्मिंस्तद्बुद्धिरित्यध्यासस्वरूपमभिधाय भगवत्पादाः "सर्वथापि त्वन्यस्यान्यधर्मावभसतां न व्यभिचरति" इत्युक्तलक्षणेऽध्यासे सर्वदर्शनसंवादं दर्शयन्ति स्म । तत्रान्यस्यान्यधर्मावभासोऽख्यातिवादिनामसिद्ध इत्याशङ्क्य विवरणाचार्या इत्थं विवेचयामासुः "अख्यातिवादिनापि मानसं संसर्गज्ञानं संसर्गाभिमानो वा वक्तव्य इत्यभिप्रायः"[3] इति । मानसं संसर्गज्ञानं साङ्ख्यैः संसर्गाभिमानस्तु प्राभाकरैरित्येवं योजनीयम् । देहादावनात्मन्यात्मबुद्धिरविद्येति साङ्ख्या मन्यन्त इति च तत्त्वदीपने स्पष्टम् । तदिदमप्यभिसन्धायोक्तमित्यन्यदेतत् इति ।

१. साङ्ख्यकारिका. २०. २. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. १. १. १.
३. पञ्चपादिकाविवरणम्. ३६.

स्यादेतत् । द्वितीयाध्यायस्थितैर्वचनैरख्यातिवादी साङ्ख्य इति आचार्याणामविप्रतिपत्तिर्लक्ष्यत इति प्रतिज्ञातम् । कानि पुनस्तानि वचनानि ? तान्युदाहरिष्यामः "सत्त्वानुरोधित्वाच्चेतनोऽपि तप्यत इवेति चेत् परमार्थतस्तर्हि नैव तप्यत इत्यापतति ; इव शब्दप्रयोगात् ।..............अतश्चाविद्याकृतोऽयं तप्यतापकभावो न पारमार्थिक इत्यभ्युपगन्तव्ययम्''[1] इति । तापकं रजः, सत्त्वं तप्यमिति बुद्धितत्त्वस्यैव संसारबन्धोपगमे पुरुषस्य तापोपशान्तये सम्यग्दर्शनमुपदिशत् शास्त्रं साङ्ख्यानामनर्थकं प्राप्नोति । एतद्दोषपरिहाराय सत्त्वानुरोधित्वादितीदं साङ्ख्यवचनम् । तत्र निगूढं भावं विशदयति "दर्शितविषयत्वात्तु बुद्धिसत्त्वे तप्ये तदविभागापत्त्या पुरुषोऽप्यनुतप्यत इव, न तु तप्यतेऽपरिणामित्वादित्युक्तम् । तदविभागापत्तिश्चाविद्या । तथा चाविद्याकृतस्तप्यतापकभावः''[2] इति । अविभागापत्तिरित्युक्ते बुद्धिपुरुषयोर्मा भूत् परमार्थतोऽभेदगमनमिति व्याचष्टे "अविभागापत्तिस्तर्हि क्षीरवत्सत्येति तन्निमित्ता तप्तिः पुंसस्सत्या स्यात् ; अत आह—तदविभागापत्तिश्चेति । अविवेको ह्यविभागः''[3] इति ।

यदवोचाम, अन्यदेतत् इत्यनेन द्वितीयाध्यायगतोऽभिप्रायविशेषः सूच्यत इति, तदाविष्करणाय दीक्षितेन्द्रैरित्थमयं ग्रन्थोऽवतार्यते "अख्यातिवादिनस्साङ्ख्यस्य मते भ्रमविषयैक्यविवर्ताभावादित्याशङ्क्य विवेकाग्रह एवाविभागशब्देन विवक्षित इति व्याचष्टे—अविवेक इति'' । उदाहृतेषु हि वचनेषु अविद्या, अविभागापत्तिः, अविवेकः, विवेकाग्रह इत्येतेषां पूर्वपूर्वं प्रति उत्तरोत्तराणि त्रीणि व्याख्यानपदानि भवन्ति । तदत्र भाष्यभामत्योर्विशेषतः कल्पतरुपरिमलयोश्चाख्यातिवाद एव साङ्ख्यानामभिमत इति निर्भरः स्फुटमवगम्यते । यदपि "सदसत्ख्यातिर्बाधाबाधाभ्याम्'' इति साङ्ख्यसूत्रं प्रमाणमन्यैरुपन्यस्तं, तेनापि यथोदितलक्षणा ख्यातिस्साङ्ख्यानां सेत्स्यतीति तेषामिदं मनोरथमात्रमित्युपरिष्टान्निवेदयिष्यते ।

तदेवं सदसत्ख्यातिवादस्सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्त इति श्रीभट्टनागेशाभिमानस्य मूलशैथिल्यापादनायाख्यातिवादिनस्साङ्ख्या इत्येतद्विस्तरेण प्रतिष्ठापितम् । अमुमेव हि ख्यातिवादं स्वकस्य सिद्धान्तस्य मूलं श्रीभट्टनागेशो मन्यते—योगिनः किल सेश्वरास्साङ्ख्या एव; तदेभिरपि साङ्ख्यानां सदसत्ख्यातिरेवापेक्षिष्यते साङ्ख्यत्वसामान्यादिति । न चेदृशीं योगिनीं ख्यातिं सम्पाद्यैतावति तुष्यति; भगवत्पादीयां

१. ब्रह्म. शां. भा. २. २. १०.
२. भामती. २. २. १०.
३. वेदान्तकल्पतरुः. २. २. १०.
४. परिमल: २. २. १०.

सदसद्विलक्षणानिर्वचनीयख्यातिमप्यनयैकीकर्तुमभिलषति । न खलु ब्रह्मसूत्रेषु भगवत्पादभाष्ये वासौ नामास्माकं ख्यातिरिति विशिष्य नाम कृतमुपलक्ष्यते । तुल्यरूपेषु तन्त्रान्तरेषु सिद्धा सदसत्ख्यातिरेव त्वमीषामभीष्टेति गम्यते । प्रसिद्धं च न्यायविदोऽनुक्तमन्यतो गृह्णन्ति । कृतं वात्र सन्देहेन । "पञ्चवृत्तिर्मनोवद्व्यपदिश्यते"[1] इति सूत्रे कण्ठरवेण भगवत्पादा एतदनुमन्वते "परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतं भवतीति न्यायादिहापि योगशास्त्रप्रसिद्धा मनसः पञ्च वृत्तयः परिगृह्यन्ते प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रास्मृतयो नाम" इति । स यदि विपर्ययो योगिनां सदसत्ख्यातिर्भवेत्, अवश्यमेषा प्राप्नोति वेदान्तवादिनामिति श्रीभट्टनागेशाभिप्रायः । एवंविधशिरोवेष्टनादिकृतसर्वानर्थमूलभूतस्यास्य वादस्य मूलत एवासाङ्गत्यत्वप्रतिपादनायास्माभिरिदं प्रथमं प्रकरणमारब्धम् । यथा चायं वादो न योगिनां, न वा वेदान्तवादिनामुपकरोति, तैः प्रतिषिद्धश्च तथाभ्यन्तरविषयपरीक्षणेन द्वितीये प्रकरणे निरूपयिष्यामः ॥

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१. ब्रह्म. २. ४. १२.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE THEORY OF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA AND THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA, By Beni Prasad M. A., Ph. D., D. Sc., Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.

We acknowledge with great pleasure the receipt of these two valuable books from the Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. The first of these contains a very interesting foreword by Prof. Keith. The author, in these two books, has given a conspectus of the history and the achievements of what was known in Ancient India as Artha Śāstra or, as it was often referred to, Daṇḍanīti. The exact meaning of the word "Artha-Śāstra" is not very clear especially in the light of modern conceptions. The word Daṇḍanīti, however, is more scientific and the vyutpatti given to the word in the Śānti-Parva of the Mahābhārata brings out a conception akin to that underlying the Austinian theory of sovereignty. The Artha Śāstra came to be very early recognised as a special branch of study *viz.*, as one of the four main kinds of knowledge enumerated by Kauṭalya or of the eighteen vidyās of later writers. It was also given a place as the chief item in the curricula of studies enjoined for a Kṣatriya Prince before he is called upon to assume the responsibility of the sovereign or of the Crown Prince. There is one danger which besets the path of the modern scholar and worker in this branch of study. The translation of the Sanskrit nomenclature of Artha Śāstra into modern political terms and phrases which have acquired a specific significance and therefore convey ideas which are the result of long experience and thorough and scientific application is apt to mislead us into thinking that all those ideas were clearly visualised by the ancient writers on Artha Śāstra. One is, however, happy to find that the author has steered clear of this and resisted the temptations of an intrepid patriotism, glorying in the thought that Ancient India had anticipated the modern conceptions of state and polity. Though an attempt has been made to give a scientific exposition of the Theory of state as described by the ancient writers on Artha Śāstra, still it must be confessed that the impression is left upon the reader's mind that the powerful, subtle, analytic and scientific intellect of Ancient Indian

thinkers with which we have been familiar in the other branches of ancient learning has not shone to its best advantage here and the treatment of the subject here descends to the level of the mere enumeration of practical tactics to be adopted in the art of Government and warfare extending even to puerile details.

Whatever this may be, the author has done full justice to the subject and conveyed to the western world a fairly accurate idea of the science of Government in Ancient India. We congratulate the Indian Press Ltd., on the neat printing and get-up of the two books.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE, By Prof. S. Radhakrishna, M.A., Published by George Allen Unwin Ltd., London.

This is a fine book published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London and is the outcome of the Upton lectures delivered by the Professor himself on the invitation and under the auspices of the University of Oxford. It is indeed, a succinct, brilliant, and masterly exposition to a Western audience of what the Hindu view of life and the fundamental spirit of the Hindu religion and philosophy are. In these lectures, the Professor's attempt is, in his own words " to indicate the central motives of the Hindu faith and show its way of approach to some of the pressing problems of the day". It may, no doubt, be that the reader, at the outset, is carried away by the force of the Professor's arresting and inimitable style and the effect of his trenchant and pregnant phraseology and is, therefore, apt to give ready acceptance to the author's conclusions and views. Still, unbiassed and calm reflection also will, in general, confirm the truth and justice of them. It must be recognised that anybody who approaches the present theme is confronted with difficulties of a varied and complicated nature. The period during which the Hindu thought and culture have been fashioned and moulded is so vast, the paucity of accurate historical material is so great and the confusion introduced by the imperfect investigations and observations of scholars of all sorts and by their broad generalizations sometimes biassed and often based only on bold speculative inferences from slender data is so bewildering, that anybody, however eminent he may be, must largely depend on our sympathy and charity of judgment as regards the success of his efforts. Amidst these conditions, to have presented a brief and

clear idea of Hinduism, its achievement and its outstanding features in bold outline and to have interpreted itin relation to the everpresent problems of the world in terms and aspects familiar to western thinkers is an achievement entitling the author to our admiration and lasting gratitude. He has tried successfully to remove the many misconceptions rampant in the world about the religion, culture and civilisation of the Hindus, to furnish the true explanation for the seeming contradictions and apparent injustices and to point to the true perspective of History. Though in some places the author has been affected by the prevalent tendency to generalize and draw large conclusions from slender and incorrect basis (vide the reference to Dakṣiṇāmūrti etc., in pages 39 and 40) still the main conclusions fairly rest on solid foundations. Everyone will be disposed to agree with the conclusions in his first lecture on religious experience " that Hinduism is not a definite, dogmatic creed, but a vast complex but subtly unified mass of spiritual thought and realization", or with the statements in his second lecture on 'The conflict of religions' that "In spite of the fact that Hinduism has no common creed and its worship no fixed form, it has bound together multitudinous sects and devotions into a common scheme" and that "that the Hindu solution of the problems of the conflict of religion is likely to be accepted in the future seems to be fairly certain". Nobody will quarrel either with the pithy statement in his third lecture " that Hinduism is more a way of life than a form of thought" and that "while it gives absolute liberty in the world of thought, it enjoins a strict code of practice". The author is at his best in the last chapter on Hindu Dharma wherein he explains the true meaning of caste, its justification in ancient India and contrasts it with the combative tendencies of the modern class organizations. He concludes thus " While caste has resulted in much evil, it has some sound principles underlying it". On the whole we may say without fear of contradiction that the Professor has succeeded in the short compass of these lectures in fully conveying to his hearers an accurate and clear idea of the theme he set to himself to expound.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS By Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL. M.

This little volume which is an Introduction to the "Sāhitya Darpaṇa", a popular work on Alaṅkāra Śāstra, is really a masterly and critical introduction to the study of the science of Sanskrit Poetics. The learned author has, in this volume, not only surveyed the whole range of the field of Sanskrit Śāhitya Śāstra, but also given a brief summary of the contents of all the important works on the subject. The origin, growth and development of the science are discussed in elaborate detail with due regard to chronology. The chief doctrines of the different schools are clearly elucidated, and learned criticisms offered on their respective merits. It is well known that differences are noticeable not only in fundamentals between the protagonists of the different schools, but even in respect of minute details in each system, and these are also clearly pointed out by the author. Special mention may be made of the learned discourses about the relative priority of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and the criticisms of the *rasa*, *dhvani*, and the *Vakrōkti* theories, as revealing the author's wide research and critical acumen. It is possible that scholars may differ from the author in respect of a few of his views, but we have nothing but praise for this achievement of his. One special feature which enhances the utility of the work is the wealth of appropriate quotations from the Sanskrit texts with their references. We heartily commend this little volume to students and scholars as it is calculated to rouse interest in a critical study of the science of Poetics and stimulate further research in this interesting branch of knowledge.

N. KUPPUSWAMI AIYAH.

A CORRECTION.

It is with great regret that I have to point out that a serious error has been allowed to creep in my article entitled 'The Vārtikas' published in the January issue of the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. II, Part I. On page 30, the following Sanskrit passage occurs:—L. 5. यतोऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वत्वे स्थानिवत्त्वमतो भगवान्कात्यायनः ॥ प्रसारणिभ्यो डं प्रोवोचेत्यर्थः

It should be printed thus:—यतोऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वत्वे स्थानिवत्त्वमतो भगवान् कात्यः प्रसारणिभ्यो डं प्रोवाचेत्यन्वयः ॥

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAN.

EDITORIAL.

We have great pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to an extract which will be found printed in Appendix to this volume and which appeared in the columns of "The New India" of June 17th. It is a short and interesting account of an adaptation on the stage at Melbourne in Australia of the "Shakuntala" of Kālidāsa. The actors of the Live Art Society of Melbourne may well be congratulated on their fine æsthetic sense and taste in selecting the appropriate tunes suited to the particular theme and in choosing the colours of the costume. They have set an example which may well be followed by the actors on the Indian stage.

We have great pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers to the prospectus and rules of the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, recently started by leading scholars and lovers of Sanskrit in Madras. The idea of starting an Academy was suggested by Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar who is so well known for his culture, fine taste for art and drama and his love of Sanskrit. It is, indeed, an organisation which is bound to prove very useful in the near future.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOUUNALS.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

January, 1928.

1. *Progress of the collection of Manuscripts at the Dacca University* (1926-1927).—By N. K. Bhattasali, M. A. A number of manuscripts have been acquired for the Dacca University in 1926-1927. The manuscripts are given under different headings. The report wrongly mentions the Upaniṣads under the heading Dharmaśāstra.

2. *Sources for an account of the Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangazeb*.—By Hari Har Das, B. Litt.

3. *St. Thomas in South India*.—By Dr. P. St. Thomas, M.A.

4. *Notes on Currency and Coinage among the Burmese*.—By Sir R. C. Temple, Bt.

Supplement—The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī stabakas of Rāma śarman.—By Sir G.A. Grierson.

February, 1928.

1. *Folk songs of the Tuḷuvas*.—By B. A. Saletore, B.A., L.T., M. R. A. S.

2. *A possible identification of the mount Devagiri mentioned in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*,—By A. S. Bhandarkar, B.A. The author identifies Devagiri with Devagurāḍa, about 6 miles south-east of Indore. The article is accompanied by two plates.

3. *Malabar Miscellancy V—A Rājasihma Inscription at Taḻekkāḍ in Cochin*.—By T. K. Joseph, B. A., L.T. Mr. Joseph edits this important inscription and gives a translation also. He seems to think that this Rājasihma belongs to 8-10th century. The article is accompanied by a plate.

4. *Rāwal Jaitrasihma of Mewar*.—By R. R. Halder. The author gives some account of this king who ruled between 1213-52 A. D.

5. *The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Stabakas of Rāmaśarman*.—By Sir G. A. Grierson.

March, 1928.

1. *Notes on currency and Coinage among the Burmese.*—By Sir R. C. Temple, Bt.

2. *Mar Sapor and Mar Prodh.*—By T. K. Joseph, B. A., L.T. These are two Christian Saints.

3. *Buddhist Women.*—By Dr. B. C. Law. Dr. Law gives some account of Buddhist women mentioned in the Buddhist Texts. They are:—

Abhirūpādanandā; Jentī or Jentā; Cittā; Sukhā; Setā; Sīhā; Sundarī; Nandā; Khemā; Aropamā; Rohiṇī; Subhā; Tissā; Sumedhā; Viśākhā; Arulā; Gopikā; Candā; Guttā; Vijayā; Cātā; Uppalavaṇṇā; Sumaṅgala mātā; Puṇṇā; Sundarī; Vimalā; Mittākālika; Sakulā; Sonadiṇṇā; Alomā; Muttā; Puṇṇā; Dantikā; Vaḍḍhesī and Uttamā.

4. *Supplement.*—Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters.—By S. C. Hill.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

January, 1928.

1. *A preliminary note on the Hill Paṇḍārams of Travancore.*—By L. A. Krishna Aiyar, M.A., M.R.A.S.

2. *Haṁsa Sandeśa—A study.*—By K. Krishnamacharya, B.A., L.T. The author gives a critical appreciation of Vedānta Deśika's Haṁsa Sandeśa.

3. *Sūrya Prajñapti.*—By Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B. A., Ph.D. This is a continuation from the previous numbers.

4. *Anthropometry of the Kanikars of Travancore.*—By L. A. Krishna Aiyar.

5. *Tamil kingdoms and their Government.*—By Pandit N. Chengalvarayan.—The author deals with the topography of the Tamil Country; its trade and commerce; the three Dynastics (*i.e.*) Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya; the social life, government etc., of those days.

6. *The Irikkal Kovilagam, Trichur.*—By A. Govindawariar, B.A., B.L.

7. *Studies in Bird Myths. No. XX.*—By S. C. Mitra, M.A.

MODERN REVIEW.

February, 1928.

Stupas oy Caityas.—By R. D. Banerji.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY. March, 1928.

Royal patrons of the University of Nālandā by Rev. J. Heras, M.A.

Found by Kumāragupta I as seen through the records of Huen Tsiang. The university was called, from the begnining of its existence, Nālandā (*i.e.*, charity without intermission).

Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta I built another Saṅghārāma.

Puragupta, the patron of Vasubandhu, vigorously practised the rules of his ancestors and built another Saṅghārāma. It was during the time of Narasimhagupta, a fervent desciple of Vasubandhu, perhaps for the first time that the university of Nālandā was destroyed. Kumāragupta II.

Harṣavandhana built a vihāra of brass in addition to one Saṅghārāma ;

The Maukharis : Pūrṇavarma : Bhāskaravarman : The articles is accompanied by a plan of the University.

2. *Revised notes on the Brahmin Empire.*—By Jayaswal.

3. *Weights and measures in Ancient India.*—By Banerji Sastri.

4. *Harappa and the Vedic Hariupia.*—By Binode Bihari Roy.

The modern Harappa is identified with Hariyupia, on the side of the river Paruṣṇi (Ravi). Probably this city of Abhyavarti and Kavi was demolished by Indra coming to the help of the Aryan invader Sudās. The city of Hariyupia was the seat of Aryan civilisation in the fifth Millenium B.C. and not non-Aryan according to Mr. Marshall and others.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SCOCIETY
January ; 1928.

1. *Is the Nyāyapraveśa by Diṅnāga.*—By Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. On the authority of Kwei-Chi and Shent'ai the disciples of Ywang Chwang, the author shows that Nyāyapraveśa and Nyāyadvāra (generally spoken of as Nyāyadvāratarka Śāstra) are two different books, of which only Nyāyamukha is the work of Diṅnāga and that the Heturvidyā Nyāyapraveśa is by Bodhisattva Śaṅkarasvāmin.

2. *Temple and image worship in Hinduism by Farquhar.*— Temple and image worship grew up among śūdras and it was

thrown open to the three Aryan Castes about 400 B. C. and thereafter steadily climbed to its present supreme position.

3. *Notes on Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda.*—By C.W. Gurner.

4. *Amitraghāta.*—Bindusāra, the son of Candragupta whom the Greeks called Amitraghāta (अमित्रघात) (as seen in a work of Athenaeus the 3rd C. A. D.) should be Amitraghāta, which is one of the epithets of Indra.

5. *Date of the Subhāṣitāvali.*—By D. C. Bhaṭṭācārya. Disagreeing with Dr. De who is tempted to put in some of the verses as interpollations because of the incorporation of verses later than the 12th C., Bhāṭṭacārya shows that there was an earlier Vallabhadeva who composed a Subhāṣitāvali and only to this, Sarvānanda refers. He places the printed Subhāṣitāvali after Śrī Harṣa, since there is a reference to his Khanḍakhādya.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

March, 1928.

1. *Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary.*—By Prof. M. Winternitz. The Professor discusses in this article the value of these works for historical purposes.

2. *The authorship of the Nyāyapraveśa.*—By A. B. Keith. Dr. Keith here tries to refute the arguments that tend to dispute Diṅnāga's authorship of the Nyāyapraveśa, thereby trying to prove Diṅnāga's authorship of that work. He regards Diṅnāga to have been older than Praśastapāda.

3. *Relation between Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī.*—By P. V. Bapat. The author regards Pāli as the oldest Prākṛt and the Ardhamāgadhī to be a later development.

4. *A Copper-plate charter of the Haihaya King Mahāraṇakaratnadeva II of the Cedi year* 878.—Edited by L. P. Pandeya. The plates are printed along with a Devanāgarī transliteration.

5. *Philosophy of Vasubandhu in Viṁśatikā and Triṁśatikā.*—By S. N. Das Gupta.—The Viṁśatikā is a work of Vasubandhu and the Trimśatikā is a commentary thereon by Sthiramati. The author gives a short summary of the doctrine of Vijñānavāda contained in that work.

6. *Rāḍha or Ancient Gaṅgā Rāṣṭra. II.*—By Nundolal Dey. The author tries to identify Rāḍha Rāḍa Lāḍha Lāḍa Lāṭa, Lāla. The article is to be continued.

7. *Upaniṣadvrata.*—By Umesh Candra Bhaṭṭacharjee.

8. *Greek Influence on Hindu Astronomy.*—By Sukumar Ranjan Das.

9. *Ranjit Singh's Civil Administration.*—By Narendra Krishna Sinha. The account given in this paper is based on the records in the Imperial Records Department.

10. *Eastern India and Āryāvarta.*—By Haran Chandra Chakladar.

11. *Town Planning and House Building in Ancient India according to Śilpa Śāstras.*—By K. Rangachari. This is a continuation from the previous issue.

APPENDIX.

Śakuntala, Staged in Melbourne.

Would's thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline.
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, fed.
Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine ?
I name thee, O Śākuntala ! and all at once is said.

GOETHE.

Australian papers have given much prominence to the staging of Kālidāsa's great drama *Śākuntala* which had been chosen as the chief attraction for the Live Art Society's short season at the Playhouse, in Melbourne, in April. Here is *Table-Talk's* appreciation of the performance :—

The impressive production of the great Indian poem, "*Śākuntala*" in the effective translation made by Laurence Binyon, and the three Irish plays from the Abbey Theatre, at the Playhouse last week was an effort that deserved much bigger support than was given, for it was a very high artistic achievement, and something much above the average in attainment.

It was in *Śākuntala* that the big interest lay, for this was a stupendous effort for a society of young people, even though directed by one of artistic insight and experience like Mr. Howard Eadie. First of all, the fine translation of the sixteen-hundred-years old work of Kālidāsa by Laurence Binyon was a fine achievement. Then the saturation of the performers and the young musician Stewart Burton, in the spirit and atmosphere of the story and the beliefs of the time, to such an extent that they were enabled to positively live the characters, and in the case of Mr. Dudley, to interpret the spirit in musical composition was remarkable.

Never has more sincere, unaffected acting been seen in Melbourne than was given by every member of the cast in *Śākuntala*, even to the little child. There was no attempt at individual effect, each one was intent only to give the spirit of the character, and in every case, the delivery of the beautiful lines was impressive in its earnestness and absolute naturalness, and the enunciation was beautifully clear.

Stewart Dudley had—so those who have lived in India declare—by some miracle caught the spirit of India in his music,

in which he had used the Indian graduation of scale, which are three times as many as we employ. Like Wagner, he has a leading motif for each character running through, and the vocal solos introduced are weirdly quaint and thrilling—while naturally with such notation, some of the music strikes the ear with unusual and strange dissonances, there are parts of it that are warmly rich and beautiful in tone.

The biggest and culminating triumph was achieved by the luminous yellow of the Celestial charioteer's wonderful costume, which seemed almost dazzling in its luminosity. The stage settings were kept indeterminate and subdued, but were effective.

The whole production has left an ineffaceable impression upon those who were fortunate enough to see it. That such really wonderful effects could be attained by young aspirants without the aid of proper stage lighting effects, and with few stage conveniences and accessories is a notable attainment that arouses wonder in those who can realise the difficulties surmounted.

THE MUSIC.

The music of the play, though very interesting in itself, is to be judged as part of the whole production.

The overture opens with the King's love singing theme, given first in the low register of the orchestra. This is continued by the higher strings and wood wind to a climax, with a first hint of the curse motive. A bridge passage for strings and wood wind leads to Śakuntala's love-singing theme played by the violin; this works up to a repeat of the same given in the higher octave by the flutes and oboes. A tremolo passage for strings, with a further hint of the curse motive, is followed by the development of the King's theme working to a full climax of both the King's and Śakuntala's themes leading straight to the curse motive at full orchestral strength. A quiet passage for strings ending with a cadenza for the oboe is followed by the golden peak theme given by the flute in its highest register. The overture foreshadows the entire development of the drama : the sublimation of the earthly unstable love to the universally significant reunion at the mystic's retreat in the Himālaya Mountains. The incidents of the drama are limited in the use of the curse and other motives.

Before and during part four, an off-shoot of the Golden Peak theme will be heard, suggestive of the nymphs, who sing their farewell to Śakuntala

THE NEED FOR A NEW DARŚANA.[1]

BY

S. V. RAMAMURTI, ESQ., M. A., I. C. S.,
COLLECTOR OF MADRAS.

It is symbolical of the position of Sanskritic learning in this country that this Sanskrit College which is one of the premier Sanskrit Colleges in the Presidency should be hidden in Mylapore. Not for it the proud places occupied by the Presidency College on the pleasant Marina or the Christian College in the centre of busy Georgetown or the Loyola College in its deep seclusion. The eyes of the public are turned to the colleges with European learning. It is at their doors eager applicants knock for entry. It is of them they think when they want the knowledge which gives practical power or when they think of up-to-date culture. Sanskrit like the Sanskrit college is relegated to a corner, dependant on the graciousness of one or two enthusiasts, thankful to keep its door open for stragglers who often go to it for want of a better asylum.

And yet, Sanskrit like a deposed queen had her days of power and glory. When India was for a couple of thousand years the acknowledged mistress of Asiatic civilisation, Sanskrit was the vehicle of high culture. It showed how to live a life of beauty and comfort. It was the guardian of the path to the Gods. But now it is hidden in Mylapore, Kalladakurichi, Tiruvadi and other places outside the highway of modern Indian life. What is wrong with Sanskrit learning that it is unable to supply part at least of the motive power of our life ?

It is not that life in India is stagnant. Great changes have taken place in India in the course of a century. Even those of us who remember our grandfathers can see how differently we live from them. Our food, our houses, our dress, our methods of travel, our enjoyment of pleasures, our lines of thought, our ideals have all changed rapidly. But in all these changes the

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1. A lecture delivered on the occasion of the anniversary of the Madras Sanskrit College.

motive power is not ours. It comes from European thought and life. The machinery through which these changes have been introduced are partly our schools and colleges and partly our political institutions. England could only give to us from her own store-house of education, law and democracy. It was for us to absorb what she gave us into our own blood. But we insist on carrying it on our backs. And the more we receive, the more are our backs bent. Not to absorb the good we receive is doubly wrong—we do not add to our energy and we add to our burden. European knowledge and experience has not increased India's energy and initiative because it has not been absorbed by India into her own life. The result then is that a country which, for centuries, showed abundant evidence of initiative, of leadership, of creative power is now occupying the place of a camp follower in the army of nations. Japan to whom India gave through Buddhism not only religion but also science, art and philosophy has left India far behind her. By borrowing the science and democracy of Europe and by a real conversion of heart under the guidance of her new teacher, Japan has been recognised as a great power. China which is as massive as India, whose people have a vision of life as gorgeous as that of India, is fast finding her political and spiritual freedom. Turkey under the influence of the youngest of religions has been converted to European ways and it occupies to-day a mightier place than India in the political world. Why is India with her glorious knowledge and life of which Sanskrit tells us left behind as a land of stagnation or of compulsory motion? Why has she lost the joy of voluntary creation?

And yet, strangely enough, this India fallen so low in status and energy, is yet seen by far seeing men as the source wherefrom a new vision of life may arise to save the world. Life in Europe has ended in blind alleys. Science is destroying even more than it is creating. Power is outrunning morality. The balance of life is tottering. Europe proud for four centuries of her gorgeous erection of science found it a place not of life but of death. Therefore it is looking back to Asia for lessons in the way of a balanced and fruitful life.

Apart from the recent catastrophe in Europe, it has been recognised by sensible men that the way to truth cannot be a monopoly of Europe or of Asia, that the visions of truth of all honest men are parts of the truth. A synthesis of the East and

the West has long been dreamt of. From the side of Europe the main contribution is science. What is it from the side of Asia? All great religions have had their birth in Asia. But religion centres round God and God is ignored by science. Where is the common meeting place of religion and science?

The obvious reply that we may give is that they meet in Philosophy. Of all countries in Asia, it is India that has systematised philosophy. It has however happened that Indian philosophy has been dominated by Vedānta which asserts the oneness of the soul and the outer universe of physics and psychology and calls this oneness Brahman—an entity without qualities. In asserting the reality of Brahman and the unseen soul nearest to it, it has emphasised the comparative unreality of the outer world of matter and mind and called at māyā. Vedānta, therefore, is felt to be as much apart from science as religion is. Philosophy which is the bridge between Science and Religion fails to function when as in Vedānta it is obviously partial to religion. If Europe with her large body of hard physical facts has to gain anything from India for the purpose of enabling her to build a better life on her science than she is now able to, the belief is expressed that the philosophy of India, speculative and concerned with an imperceptible soul, cannot help. It seems to me that the predominance of Vedānta in Indian philosophy has been a barrier to the synthesis of the East and the West. Vedānta is too far ahead of the bases of Western science for the latter to find union with Indian philosophy in the neighbourhood of Vedānta.

Indian philosophy however does not consist only of Vedānta which is one of six great Darśanas or systems of thought. Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems analyse the universe into atoms, souls and God. Mind is regarded as a relation between soul and atoms. Nyāya studies this relationship called mind and its main achievement is a science of logic. Vaiśeṣika studies the world of atoms and yields physics—as much physics, that is to say, as the world had 2000 years ago. The Sāṅkhya system did not regard mind as a relation between the soul and the atoms but threw mind along with atoms into a Prakṛti subject to evolution. In addition to Prakṛti, there were Puruṣas or souls ; God was added for the sake of fashion. Yoga makes the same analysis but it is concerned with Puruṣa gaining control over Prakṛti instead of seeking isolation from it through a process of non-co-operation.

Next came the two Mīmāṁsās. In addition to atoms and souls, Pūrva Mīmāṁsā recognises deities rather than God. Uttara Mīmāṁsā regards God as the basic unity not only of souls but also of atoms and of mind.

The evolution of these systems is interesting. In Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika the objective world consists of atoms *i.e.* of matter. In Sāṅkhya and Yoga, the objective world consists of mind and matter. In Vedānta the subject and object get unified and the world is the basis underlying soul, mind and matter. Of the six great darśanas, God is a necessary part of the scheme only in the last, Vedānta. In the others, God is not needed. He is often ignored. When recognised, He is recognised for fashion. If therefore Indian philosophy is regarded as the body of the six systems, it is a philosophy as much of the objective world as of the subjective world, as much of science as of religion—the science too not merely of physics but also of psychology. In such an evolutionary scheme of Indian Philosophy, European science can readily find its level. European materialism has its counterpart in Indian philosophy. The normal, present day, common sense notion of an independent outer world of three dimensional matter has its counterpart in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. Has Europe got a counterpart of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga idea of the world outside the soul being made up not only of matter but also of mind? I believe that it has and that the fourth dimensional world of Relativity approximates to the Prakṛti of Sāṅkhya in which there are not only gross bodies but also subtle bodies which do not die with the gross bodies. If gross bodies function in a three-dimensional space, what are the dimensions of the world in which subtle bodies function? Can the Yogic power of becoming unseen, of seeing at a distance, of motion from place to place along a direction not physically observable be due to the power to function in a four-dimensional world? Can the soul which is posited by psychical research be the subtle body of Sāṅkhya and can the world of the souls of psychical research be a fourth dimensional world? These are interesting points of contact between the Prakṛti of Sāṅkhya and the Space-Time of relativity. It is my belief that the Space-Time of relativity contains not only space and time and matter but also mind. Indeed if Space-Time is the absolute, it is bound to contain mind which is as real as matter whatever be the nature of the soul.

European science has not yet reached any position corresponding to Vedānta. Whether it will in future, we do not know. But there is no reason why it should not. Meanwhile, a synthesis of European and Indian thought must be through finding the level in Indian philosophy which European science has now reached. It seems likely that this level is approximately that of Sāṅkhya-Yoga. At the same time any attempt at synthesis must try to draw this level towards that of Vedānta. If science and Indian philosophy are to be synthesised, there is indeed a need for the creation of a new darśana.

A darśana is a systematisation of all experience. Since the formulation of the six great darśanas, there has not been till the age of science any large incursion of new facts of experience. It was enough therefore for philosophy to make mild revisions of itself. But now, Science has opened a new flood of knowledge. Indian philosophy must find its adjustment with this knowledge or go under. So far, it has not attempted to make such adjustments. But at the same time, it has not gone under. There is indeed no need for it to go under. Philosophy is by itself a method of apprehending experience. The substance of what is experienced is accidental. If a nation develops the philosophic spirit and gets the philosophic training, it is fit to deal with all kinds and facts of experience. When a person has developed teeth to eat fruit, he can also eat rice and even meat. If India could philosophise till a few centuries ago, she has the seed within her which can sprout again into a new system of philosophy when irrigated and manured by the fresh experience of Science. India, if any nation, has the capacity to create a new darśana.

In such a creation, the Sanskritist has to play an important part. The European scientist does not study Indian philosophy and Indian philosophers do not study European science. This is partly due to both Sanskritic lore and scientific literature being vast. One man can hardly find time to study both. Yet the world must find men who can do so, men to whom scholarship is life. Sanskritists like scientists are specialists. The studies of both are valuable and indispensable but neither of them by itself can create fresh life. It seems to me there is a need to make a course of Indian philosophy compulsory for all cultured Indians just as it is sought to make a study of one's mother ongue compulsory for all educated men. The great truths and

general scheme of philosophy are simple. It is not difficult to learn them. With such a knowledge Indians who study science may be able to relate philosophy and science. When many men do this, there is a chance for one man with creative genius to evolve a new system of thought which shall synthesise the East and the West. May this Sanskrit College help in however humble a measure in the creation of that new Darśana !

"YESTERDAY", "TODAY" AND "TO-MORROW" IN DRAVIDIAN

BY

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The words for "yesterday" "today" and "to-morrow" in Dravidian dialects may be classified as hereunder:

		"*Yesterday*"	"*today*"	"*to-morrow*"
Tamil	...	nēttru	iṉṟai	nāḷai
Telugu	...	ninne	nēḍu	elli or rēpu
Kannaḍa	...	ninne	īga	nāḷe
Malayāḷam	...	iṉṉale	iṉṉu	ṉāḷe
Tuḷu	...	kōḍe [dina]	ini	elli
Kui	...	Reesi	neenju	wie
Kuvi	...	Reeni	ninju	wie
Kurukh	...	cēṟo	inna	nela
Brāhūī	...	dero	aino	ēlō (cf. ēlōḍe
Gōṇḍi	...	ninne	nēṇḍa or neḍu	nāṟi not to-morrow)

ROOTS

el aḷ ēḍ ēr

el with the varieties—appears in Kanarese, Tuḷu, Gōṇḍi, Kurukh, Tamil, Kui, Malayāḷam and Brāhūī.

el, al or aḷ with its varieties,—appears in Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kurukh etc.

ēḍ " " Telugu, Kui, Kuvi, Gōṇḍi etc.

ēr " " Kurukh, Brāhūī, Tamil, Gōṇḍi, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh etc.

Is eḍu or ēḍu related to geḍu or keṭu occurring in South Dravidian? If it is, then g should either be traced to an intermediate c < cy < y < y, the prothetic on-glide; or it may be due to analogy with the k of Kāl (time) etc.

In many languages the words denoting time, which in origin should have been undoubtedly primitive, are closely related to, and probably derived from, "local" roots or roots denoting spaces. Dravidian shows this clearly. The roots denoting time in Dravidian are el, eḍ (a variant of er) el and āḷ ... (with its variant nāḷ) all of which denote, or are closely connected with, ideas of place. It is probable that all these roots are related to one another also. From these roots have arisen certain forms in accordance with Dravidian phonetic laws :

ēḍ — Telugu ēḍu (time or year) and Gōṇḍi ēt (year) as in the phrase yēt ēta (year by year).

ēḍ > yēṇḍ > yēṇḍu > yāṇḍu which occurs in Tamil and means year or time.

ēr > (n) ēr with intrusive n on the analogy of īr (water) and nīr, together with the Tamil ending—am, appears in Tamil as n ē r a m (time).

ēr > nēr > nændr —Tamil ñænḍru (time).

aḷ (meaning distance) alternating with naḷ on the common analogy in Dravidian of īr and nīr, has given rise to nāl, with the derivative legthening of the root vowel ; cf. paḷ (to break) and pāḷ (branch); kaḍ and kāḍ; viḍ and vīḍu etc.

el > yel > yel > jel in Gōṇḍi jeli (time).

el > nel (with intrusive n as shown above) in Gōṇḍi nel (month).

It will be found that the Dravidian forms for "yesterday", "today" and "tomorrow" given above are traceable to one or other of these elementary Dravidian roots. The particular conception of time-distinction as between "today", "yesterday" and "tomorrow" is more or less conventional[1] and hence it will not at all be surprising to find that the same form is used with different time-significations in different dialects; the same dialect, however, observes careful distinction of forms in regard to "today", "tomorrow" and "yesterday".

1. Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kannaḍa have given the signification "tomorrow" to nāḷ in nālei, ṉāḷe & nāḷe by the side of the general sense "day." The ultimate source-root is al or aḷ

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1. Compare the use of *morrow* in English (in "good morrow," "on the morrow" and "to-morrow") with German *morgen* (morning.)

which appears as nāḷ also (cf. Tamil aḷavu and naḷavu *measurement*).

2. Tamil indr (ei) <i (ē) ndr < iēr (this time).

The common explanation of indr (ei) from i + nāḷ is unsupportable on phonetic grounds. The presence of the proximate demonstrative which confers the distinctive meaning of "today" is indisputable. Old Dravidian r, doubled or emphasised, gives t t r which, through voicing, becomes d r. (*Vide* my paper on Dravidian alveolar t) The intrusive spontaneous nasal, a common characteristic of Tamil in connection with dr, cf. mūndru) is found here. indru therefore, should ultimately be traced to the root ēr, connected with nēram as shown above.

(3) The Tamil form for "yesterday" nēttr(u) is from nir + ēr, nir denoting the idea of completion (cf. nirei to fill).

nir + er > nērr > nettr, the abveolar tt always cropping up in connection with Tamil double r. (cf. ttr of the causal verb kayattru from kayaru).

Kittel's explanation that nēttru is from nir + nāḷ cannot be supported, as neither the disappearance of medial rn nor the production of ttr could be accounted for on a satisfactory basis according to this theory.

(4) Telegu nēḍu is derived from ēḍ (time) with a prosthetic nasal; the Telegu d often represents an original r and so probably ēḍ itself goes back to an older ēr. Gōṇḍi has the same form for *to-day* but the cerebralised value of ḍ is lost : nēdu.

(5) Telegu and Kannada ninne for *yesterday* is from nir + nēr ; the dropping of the final r of nēr and the regressive assimilation exercised by n, gave rise to ninne.

(6) Telegu rēpu or ṟēpu (to-morrow) is connected with reya (night) which, with pu, the noun affix (<vu <vi <vei) has conventionally come to mean *to-morrow* or *morning*.

(7) Telegu elli is obviously from el (time), with the conventional signification of *to-morrow* attached to it.

(8) Kannaḍa īga has a unique history. ga here is from gadu (time) which is related to the root kal or gal or kaḷ (in Tamil) the original signification of which is *that which passes* hence *time*. (cf. gaḍu (time), kaḷi (to be finished) etc.)

(9) Malayāḷam iṉṉu (to-day) is of course from Tamil indrei on the general principle which converts Tamil ndr into nd and

then into ṉṉ in Malayāḷam. Cf. pandri > (Malayāḷam) paṉṉi (pig) ; nandru > ṉaṉṉu etc.

(10) As for Malayāḷam iṉṉale (yesterday), the usual explanation that readily suggests itself is that iṉṉu (to-day) was combined with el (time) and the combination was conventionally accepted to mean "yesterday". This is hardly convincing.

A more plausible explanation is :

iṉṉel <irunn+el *i.e.*, past time, therefore *yesterday*. The final vowel e in Malayāḷam is purely a supporting vowel.

Iṉṉele in Malayāḷam has nothing to do with iṉṉal (the other day) which is composed of inna & nāḷ.

(11) Tuḷu kōḍe[dina] (yesterday) gets the special meaning from kōḍe (<kūḍ, *to join*).

(12) Tuḷu ini (to-day) is really the reduced form inēr or inēl the r or l having dropped off and the vowel of the syllable having turned to i in the unstressed position.

(13) Tuḷu yellanji (day after to-morrow) combines el and adru or ēdru which is from ēr, and then the signification of *day after to-morrow* is given to it.

(14) Kui forms are the results of considerable change. Analogy too seems to have played some part. The Kui form for "today" neenju is from nēr or nendr; the change of dr to j is quite characteristic of Kui (cf. āṟu > āju or āji ; mūṟu > mūji etc.).

Kuvi has a similar form nīnju.

In Kui nie (now), the time-sense of the present is shown by i+e <i (proximate demonstrative) +el (time) ; the n is due to analogy from the word for *to-day*, neenju.

Gōṇḍe inje (now) <indre <iēndr <iēdr <iēr.

Kui wie (to-morrow) marks out a contrariety from nie through the prefix vi it is composed of ie together with the prefix vi which has a future meaning in Dravidian (cf. the future endings of Dravidian verbs and, further, compare Brahui va (back or again) which contains the idea of futurity).

Kui reesi (yesterday) is to be traced to re+ēru (past time) ; s is the palatalised form of d or t indr or tr, and re (second) gives the idea of past time (second from the present to the past). For the special significane of re, compare Kui rāṇḍu <re+āṇḍu (last year).

In Kui ni came to have the specialised signification of the present, and re came to have the idea of the past as in raṇḍu (last year). Compare the prefix ron in ronisi (one day) which established beyond a doubt that re in reesi is a parallel formation with re meaning *second.*

(15) Kurukh nele (to-morrow, nēr (<er) with the conventional idea of future time attached to it. That nēla meant originally only *time* is clear from the Kurukh from innēla which means *these days* or *this time.* Kurukh śan (year) <yan <(dru) < ar <er Kurukh idnā (this year) = id (demonstri.) + nā (ḷ) (time).

(16) In Gōṇḍi, nel took another turn in meaning, *month.* Goṇḍi inga (now) is cognate with kannaḍa īga; adra (then) < a + er; isare (just now) <i + (y) + er; yēṇḍ (this year is cognate with yāṇḍ (<older ēḍ).

The most primitive signification of ēr (that which passes and hence time) is retained in Kurukh śēṟo (yesterday).

śēṟo <śyēṟo <yēṟ <yēṟ <ēṟ (time). Kurukh inna (to-day) is from in (prox. demonstrative) + nāḷ; nāḷ occurs in Kurukh combinations like huināḷ (three days hence) etc. The Kurukh word for day is ulla which evidently is a modification of ul or el (cf. ulle ulle, daily; iklam, which day etc.)

(17) Brāhūī initial d stands for primitive Dravidian continuative prosthetic on-glide y in words like dēr (who) from yār etc.

Brāhūī dero is therefore to be traced to yēr or ēr (time). Like Kurukh which it resembles in many respects, this form has the meaning of *yesterday.* Brāhūī der has the meaning of "time" in the combination va-derai (late).

Brāhūī ena or aino (to-day) is from ināḷ or inel. ain(o) <ein <iin <īnel.

The root el (time) exists in Brāhūī in the form ēloḍe (not to-morrow) which means *the day after to-morrow.*

THE TAḶI INSCRIPTIONS IN THE COCHIN STATE AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

BY

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INTRODUCTORY.

The Taḷi inscriptions in the Talappiḷḷi Taluk, Cochin State, are important in many respects, and a study of them will be of considerable interest from different points of view.[1]

The records under reference are inscribed on different slabs in the 'Vātalmāḍam' of the Śiva temple at Taḷi,[2] four miles west of Cheṟuvirutti on the Shoranur-Cochin branch of the South Indian Railway. About 2 miles south-west of Cheṟuvirutti, on the road to Taḷi, is situated the once famous village of Neḍumpura, which gave the name of Neḍumpuraiyūrnāḍu[3] to the country around it. This appears to have included the major portion of the Talappiḷḷi Taluk and to have extended up to the borders of Pālghāt.

I.—Historical Importance.

These inscriptions mention the names of such monarchs as Kōdai Ravi, Indēśvaran Kōdai and Bhāskara Ravi and of a king, Yākō-Iṟaiyar, a prince entirely new alike to South Indian epigraphy and history. These records may afford us a fair idea as to the extent of the sway exercised by these potentates, especially

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1. *Vide* Nos. 341—348 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, 1924—*Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924-5. The materials relied on in this paper are based to some extent on the Tamil transcripts of these inscriptions kindly furnished to me by the Archaeological Assistant to the Epigraphist, Southern Circle.

2. *Vide* Page 255 of Sewell's *List of Antiquities in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I.

3. This is identified by Dr. Hultzsch, the late Government Epigraphist with Pālghāt, in his edition of the Jews plate (Vol. III, page 68 of *Epigraphia Indica*) and with Puṟaigilanāḍu of the Tirunelli grant. (*Vide* pages 285—292, Vol. XX, *Indian Antiquary*.)

when we note that some of these names repeat themselves in the *Travancore Archaeological Series and Reports.* Recurring as they do with such persistence and in such distant and scattered places like the suburbs of Chaṅganāśśēri in North Travancore and Tirunelli in the mountainous Wynaad plateaux of North Malabar, they may be considered as important links in the chain of evidence which may establish that the All-Kēraḷa Empire of the Cērās or the Cēramān Perumāḷs was more or less a reality and the favourite theme of a patriotic and well-meaning but uncritical prosperity.

None of the Cochin inscriptions hitherto published, refer to any Cēra King (the famous Jews and Kōṭṭayam plates excepted). Hence these epigraphs, considered along with others of Indu Kōdai in the Maṇappuṟam Temple and in Puducōde[1], of Kōdai Iravi from Tṛpparaṅgōḍu and in the Chōkūr temple in Puttūr *aṁśam*[2] in Poṉṉāni Taluk, and of Śrī Vāla Rāmar from Tiruvaṉṉūr[3]—all in South Malabar—from a welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of the Imperial Cēra Dynasty.

They bring to light the name of a king hitherto quite unknown in the annals of Kēraḷa. It is yet a point for careful and minute investigation whether the name *Yākō-Iṟaiyar*[4] is a misreading for *Kō-Irāmar* (King Rāma)—and if so, whether he can be identified with Kō Śrī Vāla Rāmar or the Kēraḷa[5] king panegyrised in the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya*[6] of Vāsudēva Bhaṭṭatiri or the Rāma Tiruvaḍi of the Quilon record.[7] It would also be a fruitful line of inquiry to see whether the word can be read as *Kō-Iravi*—as the Madras Epigraphical Department are inclined to believe—and, if so, whether it refers merely to a King known as Ravi, and whether any of the Ravis mentioned in the Nāmakkal

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1. *Annual Report*, Nos. 12 of 1901, and 354 of 1924, Madras.
2. A. R. Nos. 219 of 1895 and 13 of 1901, Madras.
3. A. R. No. 220 of 1895, Madras.
4. The Tamil transcript reads "*Yā-Kō-Irayar.*"
5. *The Travancore State Manual* by Mr. V. Nagamayya, Vol. III, page 427.
6. *The Travancore Archaeological Saries*, Vol. V, Part I, pages 40—46.
7. The third plate discovered by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., cf., *Epigraphical Report*, Madras, 1906, page 74, para 31.

plates of Vīra cōḻa[1] is the same monarch. Again, it might be interesting to see whether it is but a contraction for Kōdai Ravi, Bhāskara Ravi, or Ravi Rāma.

The importance of inscriptions Nos. 343 and 344 of 1924 consists mainly in the fact that they enable us to fix approximately the date of King Kōdai Ravi, which was not possible before, though inscriptions of his reign have been found in Malabar and Cochin, if not, in Travancore. No. 344 is dated in his 17th year, Jupiter being in Mithuna. No. 343, though registered separately, seems to be a continuation of the above, despite the fact that some of the words at the beginning (of No. 343) appear to be unintelligible as they stand, due to the difficulty of deciphering. It yields us an important clue, ending as it does with the conclusive and definite statement that it was written in the Kali year 4,030 (or 929 A. D.); which would give 912 A. D. as the year of Kōdai Ravi's accession; and if he is the Kōdai Ravi of the Tṛppūṇittuṟa inscription, he must have continued to reign till 942 A. D., as it is dated in his 30th regnal year.[2] From this it would appear that he was lord of much of the country now comprised in South Malabar and Cochin.

Even of the kings known to epigraphy, the published inscriptions of Indu Kōdai Varman and Bhāskara Ravi Varman are rare in South Malabar and Cochin. Hence the discovery of Inscription No. 341 belonging to the 17th year of King Indu Kōdai (Kō-Indēśvaran Kōdai) when Jupiter was in *Kaṉṉi rāśi*, is a valuable addition to our limited stock of information about him. It is noteworthy that, till now, his latest regnal year met with in inscriptions is only 16[3] which has been calculated to correspond to 971 A. D.

The Bhāskara Ravi record (No. 348) dated in the 13th year of his reign (Jupiter being in Tulā) is the second inscription of that king found in the Cochin State, the other being the Jews

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1. These doubts can be cleared for all time, if the transcripts are published with the plates, which, I believe, it will take a pretty long time as the Epigraphical Department has only just published inscriptions unearthed 25 or 30 years ago.

2. *Vide* the *Cochin State Manual* by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, B A., page 40. It has also been copied by the Madras and Travancore Archaeological Departments.

3. *Vide Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, page 114.

deed. It is indeed a far cry from Tirunelli to Cochin Town and to Travancore, and Taḷi lies between these places. The existence of such a relic of Bhāskara Ravi Varman's reign *may* go to weaken the case for the duplication of Bhāskara Ravīs.

Thus it will be admitted that, in view of the entire absence of any settled Cēra chronology—except for what can be gathered from the Nāmakkal plates of Vīra cōḻa, the names in which have yet to be identified—these epigraphs would prove to be very helpful in the reconstruction of early Kēraḷa history.

II. Constitutional Importance.

Apart from their value from the view-point of political history, the Taḷi inscriptions—in spite of their relating to matters of temple routine—are of considerable significance constitutionally, *i. e.*, when viewed as a chapter in the history of local and representative government in ancient Kēraḷa, the temple being the centre and source of the corporate activities of the district.

The residents of the 18 districts of Nityavicārēśvaram (*the patineṭṭunāṭṭār*) and the manager (*Taḷi or Taḷiyāḻvān, Taḷiyūravan or Taḷiyār*[1] and officers (*the Taḷiyadhikārar or adhikārigaḷ*) of the pagoda as well as the *Paṭanāyar* or commander of district called Neḍumpuṟayūrnāḍ constituted the Nityavicāreś-varam assembly. It met in the premises of the temple under the presidency of the *Paṭanāyar*, an officer who, in the present case, was different from the nāḍuvāḻi or ruler of the districit. Further researches may reveal the distinctive appellation applied to this institution, the methods of filling up of the places of the *nāṭṭār* and other cognate matters.

The *Taḷiyāḻvān* was a subordinate officer appointed and removable perhaps by the assembly and accountable to it, as will be noticed from the fact that the meetings were presided over by his superiors.

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1. *Vide* pages 202 and 203, Vol. III, *T. A. S.*, pages 144—5, Vol. IV *Ibid.* The temple itself was named "Tāḷī" as in the case of the Kōṭṭayam Kadatturutti temples (Cf. Verses 11 and 31 of *Uttara Sandeśam of Uṇṇunīlisandēśaṃ*, a poem of the 14th century A. D.), the Tṛkkula-śēkharapuram (cf. Ins. No. 225 of 1895, Madras) Chingapuram, Kiṭṭoḷḷi (Kiltaḷi) and Calicut shrines of the same name. "*Taḷiyāḻvān*" is a compound of "*taḷi*" a temple and "*āḻvān*," a ruler, the word "*taḷi*" being derived from the Sanskrit "sthalī."

The *Adhikārigaḷ* (or *Taḷyadhikārar*) seem to have included the *tālpaṟṟi* or *tāḻvupaṟṟi* and the *poduvāls* especially the *akap-p-poduvāḷs.* Of these, the *tāḻvupaṟṟi* has not been met with in inscriptions, tradition or literature. It is also not possible to define his duties. The *poduvāḷs,* who were officials connected with almost all temples of Kēraḷa, were in charge of charitable endowments and occasionally, as in Ayirūr and Mūḻikkaḷam, put in charge of the management of the temple. They attended to the collection of the income, expenses of the deity for a settled remuneration in paddy or rice, raw or cooked. These records mention two orders of *poduvāls,* the *akappoduvāḷs* and *puṟap-poduvāḷs* (or merely *poduvāḷs*) which have developed into sub-castes, called respectively *Mūttatūs* (thread wearing) and the ordinary *Poduvāḷ*s (of the *Ambalavāsī* caste).

The official of *Sēnāpati* entrusted with the military administration of Neḍumpurayūrnāḍu was, no doubt, subordinate to the *nāḍuvāḻi* of the same district, and was the president of the assembly or *kūṭṭam* of the *nāḍu.* In his absence, his place was taken by the *nāḍuvāḻi,* as in the case of the Kōdai Ravi record when Kōdai Ravi of Venpolināḍ was in temporary charge of the district. The office of the *Paṭanāyar* may have been generally hereditary but not irremovable. (In the inscriptions of Yā-kō-Irāyar, for instance, we find Kumaran Kumarādiccan figuring under successive nāḍuvāḻīs, but being supersed by Iravi Kaṉṉap-pirān of Chōññirappaḷḷi in the regime of a new nāḍuvāḻi, Kandan Kumaran of Talaippulam.

The presence of the residents of the 18 districts was not considered indispensable for all meetings. Matters of minor importance could be settled by the Taḷiyāḻvān and his officers, in the presence, however, of the *Paṭanāyar,* the chairman of this Committee of management, which in a sense formed the *Sthānattār* of similar South Indian inscriptions.

We do not possess adequate data to say definitely for what all matters the consent or presence of the *patineṭṭunāṭṭār* was deemed essential. But, on an examination of the records referred to above, this much can be safely advanced, *viz.,* that their approval was indispensable for the receipt of gifts of lands endowed for the maintenance of different items of the temple services. (For instance, the Indu Kōdai inscription is concerned with the grant of lands in the Ukkiramaṅgalam village for the

Appigai and Cittirai festivals and with the details of expenditure of income accruing therefrom. The Bhāskara Ravi Epigraph relates to the grant of lands by a lady for *Šāntivṛtti*, etc. On the other hand, the Kōdai Ravi inscription, in which the *patineṭṭu-nāṭṭār* are not stated to be present, merely settles doubts about the appropriation of incomes from different endowments for different purposes. Due to the damaged condition of record No. 347, we are unable to infer whether the assembly's assent was required by the *poduvāḷ* for lending out gold, on landed security and on condition of paying interest in paddy.

The interdiction of the *patineṭṭunāṭṭār* and *Adhikārigaḷ* (including the *poduvāḷmār*) from the collection of taxes (due to the *nāḍuvāḻi*, presumably) may point to the fact that, besides the collective responsibility of the villagers, the *poduvāḷs* (*puṟap-poḍuvāḷs*) associated probably with one or two individuals selected by the *nāṭṭār*, were primarily responsible for the collection of taxes. [1].

The Yā-Kō-Irāyar inscription shows that the president of the assembly, though a military official, did not unnecessarily interfere in the temple affairs, and, if he intervened, he did it with an iron hand and for the good of the people by curbing the growing power of the exacting *Taḷiyāḻvān* and his myrmidons. As the *Taḷiyāḻvān* had used his powers to aggrandise himself at the expense of the temple no doubt with the connivance of the *Adhikārigaḷ* under him—the building and properties of the temple were temporarily taken over by the *Paṭanāyar*. After settling the disputes concerning the Taḷi's management, and after seeing that things were getting easy, he returned the properties, and reinvested the *Taḷiyāḻvān* and his officers with their original powers. The solemnity of the transaction is indicated by the formality of the grant and reciept of the transfer document signed by the *Paṭanāyar* himself.

The Indu Kōdai inscription is an instance where the assembly tried to provide against a possible refusal by the

1. *Vide* page 42, lines 258-61 and pages 62-3, *Travancore Archaeological series*, Vol. IV, Part I, where it is stated that the income set a part for the expenses of the *aganāḻigai* or *sanctum* shall be collected by two members of the *Sabhā* (assembly) and the *puṟappoduvāḷ*.

Taḷiyāḻvān to conduct the feeding on festival days. The *tāḻvu-paṟṟi* and *poduvāḷ* were temporarily to advance the amount for the festival by borrowing and to recoupe themselves from the income set apart. If the manager objected, the rest of the assembly was to non-co-operate with him and to boycott him till he was brought round. If he still remained recalcitrant, the *tāḻvupaṟṟi*, *akappoḍuvāḷ*, and *poduvāḷ* (*puṟappoduvāḷ*) were to meet the expenses.

The word *'avirōtattāl*, in the inscriptions (Nos. 341 and 348) indicates that the deliberations of the assembly were conducted peacefully, without any hostilities.

From the undertaking—to maintain perpetual lamps by the supply of ghee—given by the people of different *deśams* like Perumaṅgāḍ (8 lamps and one *share* of ghee), Perumputtūr (12 shares of ghee) Ciṟukōṭṭai and Iṭṭiyaikkāḍ[1] it will not be too much to infer that each of these *deśams* possessed some sort of corporate organisation to give expressions to its common will.

It is remarkable that the assembly had the self-restraint to subject to heavy fines those of its members who broke the compacts entered into by them. A fine of 25 *kaḻañjus* of gold was payable by each member of the *nāṭṭār* or officers (to the temple), for wrongfully collecting taxes from certain lands (No. 341). The abettors of the offender were given similar punishnment, and they were not to exercise any authority without paying up the fine. The committee of the *Taḷiyāḻvān* and his officers also bound themselves by similar pacts, as will be seen from the last part of the record dated in the Kali year 4,030 (No. 343).

III-Economic Importance.

Considerable economic interest attaches also to these records. They reveal the temple assembly performing the functions of a bank, or better, a charitable trust. It received endowment of village lands for conducting festivals (No. 341), for maintenance of perpetual lamps (No. 343), for the expenses of even a subordinate Devasvam like the Neḍumpura shrine (No. 346)[2], for

1. *Vide* the Kōdai Ravi record.

2. Inscription No. 346 states that a piece of land in Kuvaḷa in Kōññiśśēri is set apart for expenses of the Kulaśēkhara idol. This is the principal deity of the Neḍumpura temple called Kulaśēkharanellūr.

the *śāntivṛtti* (No. 348), etc. It recorded agreements from (the assemblies of) the *deśakkār* of neighbouring *deśams* to pay fixed shares of ghee for lighting temple lamps and for miscellaneous expenses, being the *pāṭṭom* on lands leased out to them by the Nityavicāreśvaram assembly (No. 343). It (through its officers, especially the *poduvāḷ* lent out gold on the security of landed property, in return for interest payable in paddy, to be measured out into the temple granary (No. 347).

The temple was the support of the *Taḷiyāḻvān*, his officers including the *poduvāḷ* and *tāḻvupaṟṟi*, the *Śāntikkār*, the *Nambi*, the *Nagara Vāḻkaiyān*, the *akampadippaṇimakki*, the *Cākyār*, and host of other attendants like the *kāṇan*, *oravian* and others doing menial service.

It is indeed worthy of note that, in spite of the existence of this imposing array of temple followers, the *patineṭṭunāṭṭār*, had also their allotted portion of communal labour. As stated in the Indu Kōdai inscription, the rice required for the *Appigai* and *Cittirai* Viṣu festivals was to be cooked by them. The principle of division of labour was strictly followed by the officers who strictly assigned fixed quantities of paddy for different sets of people, who had to husk the same.

The rent on the temple lands was collected by the *poduvāḷs* and they were mainly responsible for its disbursement, whether it be for feeding purposes or for the regularroutine administration of the temple affairs. Their difficulties must have been greatly reduced by the system of appropriating definite items of income from endowments for particular purposes and the graded series of penalties imposed for non-payment or delay in payment, (Nos. 341 and 344) of the *pāṭṭom*. This must have, to some extent, provided also against misappropriation of temple funds.

These records throw some light on the weights and measures current in those days. For determination of weight, there was the *palam* and standard *kōl* or balance was that of the *"Perumāḷ"* or god of the temple. For measurement of solids and liquids there were the *kalam*, the *paṟa*, the *edaṅgaḻi* the half-measure, and different kinds of *nāḻis*. Of these, the *kalam* alone is the only one which is not now in vogue. It appears to have contained 5 or 6 *edaṅgaḻis*. Weights of gold and other metals were calculated in *kaḻañjus* and *kāṇams*.

These Epigraphs mention different kinds of tenures like *virutti* and *ūṭṭam* for service done for the temple and for providing paddy for food. In case the *pāṭṭom* on the *ūṭṭam* land was not paid on the due dated or double the quantity a month later, the land was liable to be transferred absolutely to another in perpetuity as an *aṭṭippēr*.

There remains to notice only the activities of the *Naṭṭuvan* or *Cākyār*, who, on festival occasions, must have expounded the *Purāṇās* and afforded amusement as well as interest to the audience. There was also the *Naṅgyār* for helping in the staging of the *Kūttu*, the indigenous theatrical performance of Kēraḷa.

It is also noteworthy in this connection that, in these records, we come accross, for the first time, such names as the *Kāntarpigaḷ*, the *oravian*, the *Nambi* of the *Nagara*, the *tāḻpaṟṟi*, the *ariyūravan*, and others. They also contain references to the *bhūtabali*, the *pantīradipūja*, and other kinds of worship to the deity.

Thus we find that these inscriptions form a fit subject for careful study from different aspects. Their dynastic importance in helping us to place some of the less known Cēra monarchs in their historic setting, their constitutional interest in throwing valuable light on the working of the corporate bodies engaged in the task of local self-government, their economic value in affording us an insight into the part played by the temple in the ordering of the economic life of the country and other matters will be enough to show that they are of varied and absorbing interest and not merely a proper subject for antiquarian research.

CONJUNCTION OF PLANETS CALLED GRAHAYUTI IN HINDU ASTRONOMY

BY

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CALCUTTA.

"The conjunction of the five planets," says Sūrya Siddhānta, "is considered their fight *(yuddha)* or association *(samāgama)* with each other (according to their light and position); but their conjunction with the moon, is considered their association with her and that with the sun is their dis-appearance *(astamana)*."

It is apparent that the discussion on the conjunction of planets began from very early times, as the knowledge of the time of conjunction and opposition was necessary for the correct calculation of eclipses which the Hindus did from very early times. But it was Brahmagupta who put all the arguments together in his Brahma Sphuṭa siddhānta (628 A.D.).

At a given time we find that the conjunction of two planets, both moving eastward, is past when the place of the quick moving planet is beyond that of the slow-moving one, and that it is to follow when otherwise *i.e.*, when the place of the quick-moving planet is behind that of the slow-moving one. But when both the planets have retrograde motion, the reverse is the case. When, of the two planets, one is moving eastward and its place is beyond that of the other which moves to the west, their conjunction is past; but when the place of the retrograde is beyond that of the other (*i.e.*, the eastward moving) the conjunction is to take place in future[1].

Now to find the time of conjunction, a time sufficiently near the conjunction is assumed in which each of the two planets, for short intervals, may be considered to be moving uniformly. Let l_1 and l_2 be the longitudes of the two planets A and B, whose latitudes are nearly the same, at a given time, and whose daily motions are at that time m_1 and m_2 respectively, m_1 being greater

1. Chap. VII, Sūrya Siddhānta.

greater than m_2 ; and let d be the interval required in days or fractions of a day and l the required longitude of conjunction. Then $\frac{m_1 (l_2-l_1)}{m_1-m_2}$ and $\frac{m_2 (l_2-l_1)}{m_1-m_2}$ are called the changes of the planets when both are are direct or both retrograde and $\frac{m_1 (l_2-l_1)}{m_1+m_2}$ and $\frac{m_2 (l_2-l_1)}{m_1+m_2}$ are the changes when one is direct and the other retrograde. These changes are to be subtracted from, or added to, the places of these two planets according as the conjunction is past or to follow. But when the planets are retrograde, the reverse is the case. When one of the two planets is retrograde, add or subtract the changes to, or from, its place according as the conjunction is past or future. Thus $l = l_1 \pm \frac{m_1 (l_2-l_1)}{m_1 \mp m_2}$ or $l_2 \mp \frac{m_2 (l_2-l_1)}{m_1 \mp m_2}$ and the interval between the given time and the time of conjunction $d = \frac{l_2-l_1}{m_1-m_2}$.

Now, when the difference in latitude between the two planets is too great to be neglected, the lengths of day and night of the places of the planets are found at the time of conjunction, their latitudes and also in minutes, and their times from noon, and that for the rising and setting of each planet with the horoscope (rising point of the ecliptic) are computed.

A correction, called Dṛkkarma, is required to be applied to the longitude of a planet for finding the point of the ecliptic (Udaya Lagna) which rises simultaneously with a planet.

This correction consists of two parts, one called the Āyana Dṛkkarma and the other the Ākṣa Dṛkkarma. The place of a planet, with the Āyana Dṛkkarma applied, gives the point of the ecliptic on the hour circle which passes through the planet ; and this corrected place of the planet again, with the Ākṣa Dṛk-karma applied, gives the point of the ecliptic on the circle of position which passes through the planet.

These two parts are differently estimated in different astronomical works. In the Sūrya Siddhānta the Ākṣa Dṛkkarma is found by multiplying the latitude of the planet by the equinoctial shadow and dividing the product by 12, and the quantity thus obtained being multiplied by the time in *ghaṭikas* from noon of the planet's place and divided by half the length of the day of

the planet's place. This correction is to besubtracted from the planet's place when it is east of of the meridian, and the latitude of the planet is north ; but it is to be added to the planet's place when the latitude is south.

This correction called the Āyana Dṛkkarma is found by adding 3 signs to the planet's place and finding the declination from the sun. Then the number of minutes contained in the planet's latitude multiplied by the number of degrees contained in the declination gives in seconds the correction called the Āyana Dṛkkarma. The Āyana correction is to be added to, or subtracted from, the planet's place, according as the declination and the planet's latitude are of the same or different signs.

The Dṛkkarma correction is also applied to the time of conjunction of a planet with a star whose difference in latitude is too great to be neglected, and when finding the times of rising and setting of the planets and the phases of the moon. It is likewise applied in the case of two planets, whose common longitude and apparent time of conjunction are determined by the rules already stated.

"The rules by which these corrections were made underwent considerable change from the original form in which they were constructed. Bhāskara, in the Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, following Brahmagupta, gives rules for finding the difference in the times of rising of a planet and of the corresponding point of the ecliptic which determines the longitude of the planet. The difference is found from two horary angles to which the names Āyana Dṛkkarma and Ākṣa Dṛkkarma corrections are given. If these angles are denoted by θ and ϕ respectively and the latitude of the planet by λ, the latitude called the Spaṣṭa Sāra (the rectified latitude) by λ', and the latitude of the observer's place be l, d being put for the declination of the planet, then Bhāskara's rules give $\text{Sin } Q = \frac{\sin \lambda}{\cos d} \times \sin$ Āyana Valana and

$\sin \phi = \frac{R \sin\lambda'}{\cos d \cos l} \times$ Sin Ākṣa Valana."[1]

[If π be the pole of the ecliptic, P the pole of the equinoctial, T the planet, N and R the north and south points, $<\pi$ T P is called the Āyana Valana and is due to the obliquity of

1. Brennand, Hindu Astronomy, page 298.

the ecliptic, and $<PTN$ is the Ākṣa Valana and is due to the latitude of the planet.][2].

Let us take a projection of circles of the Eastern Hemisphere on the Meridian of the place, Z the zenith, H E N the horizon, N its north point, D E F the equinotical, E its east point and P its pole, C O C' the ecliptic and K its pole, S a planet or star, M S Q M' the diurnal circle through S, K S O K' the circle of latitude passing through S and meeting the ecliptic in the point O.

Therefore, O will be the point of the Ecliptic which determines the longitude of the planet S, and O S will be the latitude λ.

O is supposed to be in the horizon at a time after the rising of the planet through the arc Q S of the diurnal circle. If, at this moment, great circles are supposed to be drawn from the pole of the equinoctial, to pass through S, O and Q, then the angles P O N and K O P would have been the Ākṣa Valana and Āyana Valana respectively and the sum or difference of these angles according to the position of the planet S is the true Valana. Now the time taken by the planet from the point Q to S of its diurnal circle is expressed by the hour angle Q P S in time.

$<QPS = <SPO + <OPQ$ and $<SPO = \theta$ and $<OPQ = \phi$.

In the spherical triangle $\frac{\text{Sin } SPO}{\text{Sin } SOP} = \frac{\text{Sin } SO}{\text{Sin } SP}$.

But $OS =$ latitude of $S = \lambda$, $SP = 90^\circ -$dec. $= 90^\circ - d$. and $<SOP$ is the āyana valana

$$\therefore \text{ Sin } \theta = \frac{\text{Sin}\lambda}{\cos d} \times \text{ Sin Āyana Valana} \ldots (1.)$$

Also in spherical triangle R O Q, we have $\frac{\text{Sin } RQ}{\text{Sin } OR} = \frac{\text{Sin } ROQ}{\text{Sin } RQO}$ in which O R is the Spaṣṭa Sāra or rectified latitude $= \lambda'$, OQR is approximately equal to $<HED = 90^\circ\text{-}l$ and $<ROQ$ is the Ākṣa Valana. Hence $\sin QR = \frac{\sin \lambda'}{\cos l} \times$ Sin Ākṣa Valana.......(2.)

From the similar triangles P R Q and P R' Q $\frac{\text{Sin } PQ}{\text{Sin } RQ} = \frac{\text{Sin } PQ'}{\text{Sin } R'Q'}$ $\therefore \text{Sin } RQ = \frac{\text{Sin } PQ \times \text{Sin } R'Q'}{\text{Sin } PQ'} = \frac{\text{Sin } PQ \times \text{Sin } P}{\text{Sin } 90} = \frac{\cos d \text{ Sin } P}{R}$..(3).

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1. Regarding Āyana Valana and Ākṣa Valana, see pages 184 to 193, Goḷādhyāya, Siddhānta Śiromaṇi.

2. Brennand, Hindu Astrodomy, page 298.

1 $\therefore \text{Sin Q} = \frac{\text{Sin R Q} \times \text{R}}{\cos d} = \frac{\text{R} \quad \text{Sin}\lambda'}{\cos d \cos l} \times$ Sin Ākṣa Valana...(4.)

If both of these times thus found, be of the elevation or both of the depression, the planet will be elevated above or depressed below the horizon in the time equal to their sum, and if one of these be that which the planets takes for its elevation and the other for its depression, the planet will be elevated above or depressed below the horizon in the time equal to their differences as the remainder is of the time of elevation or of that of the depression. The sum or difference of the two times is called the resulted time of Dṛkkarma.

Then the Hindu astronomers give various names to the associations and fights of the planets, the kinds of fights, distinguishing which is the conquerer and which is conquered etc. In the conjunction of any two minor planets, there is their fight called the *ullekha* (paring) when their discs only touch each other ; but when the discs cross each other, the fight is called the *Cheda* (breaking). When in the conjunction, the rays of the two planets mix with each other, it is their fight, called the *aṁśu-vimarda* (the mixture of the rays). When in the conjunction of the two planets, their distance is less than one degree, it is their fight called the *apasavya* (the contrary) if one of the two planets be smaller ; otherwise the fight is not distinct. In the conjunction when the distance of the planets is greater than one degree, it is their association, if the discs of the planets are both large and bright; otherwise the association is indistinct. In the fight called *apasavya* that planet is conquered which is obscure, small and gloomy ; and that planet is overcome which is rough, discoloured or south of the other ; and that is the conqueror of which the disc is the brighter and larger, whether it be north or south of the other. If in the conjunction the planets both be very near to each other and bright, then their fight is called the *Samāgama* ; if both the planets be small or overpowered, then the fight is called the *Kuṭa* or *vigraha* respectively.[2]

The Sūrya Siddhānta concludes the discussion on their subject by remarking that the associations and fights of the planets are only imaginary, intended to foretell the good and evil

1. *Vide* Chapter IX, Goḷādhyāya ; Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Dṛkkarma Vāsanā.

2. *Vide* Sūrya Siddhānta, Chap. VII, verses 18 to 22.

fortune of people, since the planets being distant from each other move in their own separate orbits.

II Heliacal rising and setting of planets and stars as in Hindu Astronomy.

A planet or star rises or sets heliacally when it appears above or below the observer's horizon. Sūrya Siddhānta distinguishes between the rising and setting of Mercury (बुध) and Venus (शुक्र) which are never very distant from the sun, from the rising and setting of the three planets, Mars (भौम) Jupiter (गुरु) and Saturn (शनि) whose longitudes may differ from that of the sun by as much as a semi-circle.

This problem was tackled by several ancient astronomers of whom Lalla and Brahmagupta were mentioned by name in Bhāskara's Siddhānta Śiromaṇi. Lalla did not deal with the question in all its aspects, while Brahmagupta took into account all the necessary corrections for finding out the exact time.

"When you want to determine the time of the heliacal rising or setting of a planet," says Sūrya Siddhānta, "find at any given day near to that time the true places of the sun and the planet at the sun's setting, when the planet's heliacal rising or setting is in the western horizon; but when it is in the eastern horizon, determine the places at the rising of the sun; then apply the Dṛkkarma correction to the planet's place."[1]

Bhāskara in his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi[2] clearly states the object of the correction called the Dṛkkarma which is requisite to be applied to the place of the planets, for finding the point of the ecliptic on the horizon when the planet reaches it. "A planet is not found," he says "on the horizon at the time at which its corresponding point in the ecliptic (or that point of the ecliptic having the same longitude) reaches the horizon, in as much as it is elevated above or depressed below the horizon, by the operation of its latitude. A correction called Dṛkkarma to find the exact time of rising and setting of a planet is, therefore, necessary."

When the planet's corresponding point in the ecliptic reaches the horizon, the latitude then does not coincide with the

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1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chap. IX, verse 4.
2. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Goḷādhyāya, Chap. IX, verses 1 and 2.

horizon, but with the circle of latitude. The elevation of the latitude above and depression of it below the horizon, is of two sorts, (one of which is caused by obliquity of the ecliptic and the other by the latitude of the place). Hence the Dṛkkarma is two-fold, *i.e.*, the Āyana Dṛkkarma and the Ākṣa Dṛkkarma.

The details and mode of performing these two parts of the correction have been clearly stated in connection with finding the time of conjunction of planets.

That point of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon when the planet reaches it, is called the Udaya Lagna, rising horoscope of the planet. It is necessary to know the Udaya Lagna for finding the time of the planet's rising. The Udaya Lagna is found thus :—If the planet is depressed by the resulted time of the Dṛkkarma, it is evident that when the planet will come to the eastern horizon, its corresponding place in the ecliptic will be elevated above it by the resulted time. For this reason, having assumed the corresponding place of the planet for the Sun, the horoscope is found by the direct process through the resulted time and this will be the rising horoscope. But if the planet be elevated above the horizon by the resulted time its corresponding place will be then depressed below it by the same time when the planet will come to it. Therefore the horoscope found by the indirect process through the resulted time will be the rising horoscope of the planet.

That point of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon when the planet comes to the western horizon, is called the Asta Lagna or setting horoscope of the planet. As it is requisite to know the setting horoscope for finding the time of setting of the planet, the setting horoscope is found thus :—If the planet be depressed below the western horizon by the resulted time, it is plain that when the planet reaches it, its corresponding place will be elevated above it by the resulted time and consequently the corresponding place of the planet added with six signs will be depressed below the eastern horizon by the same time. Therefore, the corresponding place of the planet added with six signs is assumed for the sun and the horoscope is found by the indirect process through the resulted time and this will be the Asta Lagna, setting horoscope. But if the planet be depressed below the western horizon, its corresponding place added with six signs will then be elevated above the eastern horizon by the

resulted time and hence the horoscope found by the direct process will then be the Asta Lagna, setting horoscope.[1]

The time in prāṇas between the rising of the point of the ecliptic corresponding to the planet's place and the place of the sun is then found. This time in prāṇas, divided by 60, gives what is called the *kālāṁśas* or time turned into degrees, at which, before sun-rise, a body rises heliacally. The Kālāṁśas for Mars, Jupiter and Saturn are stated to be 11, 15 and 17 degrees of time respectivety ; when the motion of Venus or Mercury is retrogade, Venus is stated to rise or set heliacally by 8 degrees of time and Mercury by 12 degrees, but when the motion is direct, Venus rises or sets heliacally with 10 degrees of time and Mercury by 14.

When the *kālāṁśas* of a planet thus found are greater than the numerical *kālāṁśas* mentioned above, the planet becomes visible, but it is invisible when the computed *kālāṃśas* are less[2]. To find the interval in days, ghaṭikās, etc., between the given time and that of the planet's heliacal rising or setting, the difference in minutes, between the *kālāṁśas* (*i.e., kālāṁśas* found from the place of the planet at the given time, and those which are the planet's own as mentioned before) is found and it is divided by the difference between the diurnal motions (turned into time) of the sun and the planet; the quantity obtained is the interval in days, ghaṭikās etc., between the given time and that of the planet's heliacal rising or setting.

This holds when the planet is direct; but when it is retrograde, the sum of the diurnal motions of the sun and the planet is taken in place of the difference of the diurnal motions. The daily motions of the sun and the planet, multiplied by the number of prāṇas contained in the rising periods of the signs occupied by the sun and the planet, and divided by 1800[3], become the motions in time. From these motions (turned into time) the past or future days, ghaṭikās, etc. from the given time to the time of the heliacal rising or setting of the planet is found.

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1. *Vide* foot note by Bāpudev Śāstri under verse 9, Chapter IX, Goḷādhyāya.

2. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chap. IX, verses 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9.

3. The division is 1800 because one rāśi $= \frac{360^\circ}{12} = 30^\circ = 30 \times 60' = 1800$.

The *kālāṁśas* of a planet and those which are found at a given time from the place of the planet, multiplied by 1800 and divided by the rising period of the sun which is occupied by the planet, give the degrees of the ecliptic. The degrees of the ecliptic are taken for their corresponding degrees of time and from them the time of heliacal rising or setting of the planet is found.[1]

As the constellations of stars are fixed, their latitudes are the Spaṣṭa-Saras, *i.e.*, the reduced values of the latitudes so as to render them fit to be added to or subtracted from the declination, and the Dhruvas or longitudes of these constellations are given, after being corrected by the Āyana Dṛkkarma so as to suit those corrected latitudes[2], that is, the star will appear to rise at the equator at the same time with longitude found by the correction. The stars rise heliacally in the eastern horizon and set heliacally in the western[3]. The Ākṣa Dṛkkarma to their longitudes is applied and through them the days past or future from the given time to the time of heliacal rising or setting of the stars from the diurnal motion of the sun only are found[4].

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1. Sūrya Siddhānta, verses 10, 11 & 16 Chapter IX.
2. Bhāskara censures Lalla and several other perceding Astronomers who did not take into account the Dṛkkarma correction. He at the same time praises Brahmagupta, whose method he follows and considers as unexceptionable. Hence it is certain that even before the time of Brahmagupta this Dṛkkarma correction was known.
3. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, verse 12, Chapter IX, Goḷādhyāya.
4. Sūrya Siddhānta, verse 17, Chapter IX.

SOME UNEXPLAINED PRĀKṚT PASSAGES
A REPLY.

BY

G. HARIHARA SASTRI.[1]

The Bhāsa theory has been of late attracting opponents in increasing numbers and among the latest of their performances is a lengthy article under the heading "Some Unexplained Prākṛt Passages and their bearing on the Bhāsa Problem" (Ante. Vol. I Part iii, pp. 217-45) by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Dr. Raja begins by pointing out two misprints one in the preface of the Cārudatta and another in the introduction of the Svapnavāsavadatta of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, which, though rectified in subsequent editions, are said to have caused a heavy drain on his time in verifying quotations and therefore considered "an unpardonable crime" on the part of the editor! Among the few Prākṛt words which were not clear when the first edition of the Cārudatta was issued, three are explained by Dr. Raja as pure Malayāḷam words; and these taken along with some alleged "Malabar influence" found in the work are trotted out as evidence to show that it is an adaptation from the Mṛcchakaṭika by a Malabar hand with alterations suited to the Malabar stage. It has to be noted here that Dr. Raja has based his criticism on the first edition of the Cārudatta issued in 1914 even though a revised edition[2] having no "unexplained prākṛt passages" has been published in 1922. This is hardly defensible in one who works, himself into righteous indignation over two misprints! Without troubling myself with the question whether the Cārudatta is an adaptation from the Mṛcchakaṭika or *vice versa*, let me confine my attention to the consideration of the evidence on which Dr. Raja tries to make out a Malabar origin to the Cārudatta.

The three Prākṛt words explained by Dr. Raja as pure Malayāḷam words are "णाए," "अण्ठी" and "णेउब्भामण" which are

1. This is published here as a reply to the criticisms referred to, though it does not contain any sound argument in support of the Bhāsa theory put forward in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. *S.K. Śāstri.*

2. The Śrīdhara Power Press, Trivandrum.

not found in the Mṛcchakaṭika. He states that the first word occurs *twice* in the Cārudatta and is used as an address in both the places ; but, as matter of a fact, it occurs *thrice* in the Cārudatta and is used as an address in only one place. He takes it as a prākṛtisation of the Malayāḷam word '*nāya*' [1] (dog). It has to be remarked here that the use of prākṛtised vernacular words is unknown in Sanskrit dramas; and such a forced and far-fetched interpretation as Dr. Raja seeks to put on the word cannot be justified, especially when the word can more appropriately be interpreted as the prākṛt form of "नाथे" or "नायिके" as in the following line,

"किं याशि पावुशणिशाअळशोमकेशे
णाए शमुळ्ळशिअपिञ्जिअपिञ्जवत्ते ।"

which occurs under *Mukhavarṇana* in a work called "Cārudatta-prabandha", an unpublished work, the manuscript of which exists in the Trivandrum Palace Library. Besides, it is not appropriate that even a Śakāra should refer to Vasantasenā as a dog, in the passage "भावे ! अन्धआळपूळिशगम्भीळा ळच्छा दीशइ, मा खु णाए एत्थ भंशइदव्वा" (p. 16) soon after expressing her attachment towards him in "शुणाहि भावे ! शुणाहि । एशा वशाश्चशेणिआ मं शन्तो शि त्ति भणादि" (p. 15). The editor of the Cārudatta explains it in his second edition (p. 18) as "ज्ञाते" (a kinswoman) which is used as a sarcastic address of Vasantasenā by Śakāra.

Again Dr. Raja states that the word "अण्ठी" in the passage "अहिअमहुरस्स अम्बस्स अजोग्गदाए अण्ठी ण भक्खी अदित्ति" (p. 6) is the Malayāḷam word "*aṇṭi*" which means the stone of a fruit. By a reference to Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā (p. 114), Bombay Sanskrit Series, he could have easily learnt that "अण्ठी" is the prākṛt form of the Sanskrit word "अस्थि" which means the stone of a fruit.

The word "णेउब्भामण" occuring in the passage "जह ळोही-पखिट्टणकाकसारा भूमी, णेउब्भामणसुगन्धो......" (p. 1) is explained by Dr. Raja as a prākṛtisation of the Malayāḷam "*neyyappamaṇa*" [1] (the smell of a rice cake in fried ghee). This rendering is on the face of it grotesque if not ridiculous. The plausible

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1 Is this not a Tamil word ?

Sanskrit equivalent is "स्नेहोद्रावन"[1] as shown in the second edition of the Cārudatta (p. 2). The meaning of the passage is "since the ground looks black, red and white on account of metal vessels placed around (for cooking), a smell like that of oily preparations (is felt) and priests are seen walking about as a good omen." So much for the pure Malayāḷam words.

Let me now consider the so called Malabar influence in the Cārudatta. Dr. Raja proposes to change "शवपट्टणेशे" occurring in the verse of Śakāra "किं वाशुजेवे शवपट्टणेशे" (p. 12) in the Cārudatta into "शिवपट्टणेशे" on the supposition that the existing reading does not give a clear sense, and points out that this emendation "शिवपट्टणेशे" (*i.e.*, the lord of *Śivapaṭṭaṇa*) offers a contrast with Vāsudeva as required in Śakāra's speech and states that Śivapaṭṭaṇa[2] means Trichur in the Cochin State, where there is Śiva temple. The emendation is unwarranted, as "शवपट्टणेशे" means the lord of "*Pretapurī*" or Naraka; and to speak of Vāsudeva as the lord of Naraka is quite in keeping with the peculiarities of Śakāra's speech. Besides, the fact that the word occurs along with such Purāṇic characters as Vāsudeva, Kuntīsuta and Janamejaya shows that it should be referring to a Purāṇic celebrity and not to a deity of a temple in a town like Trichur, which is incongruous.

Then, it is suggested that because the prākṛt word "पुच्छीअन्ति" (Skt. पृच्छयन्ते) in the passage "हंजे ! एवं उवासन्ति, देमहुअरात्ति पुच्छीअन्ति" (p. 35) in the Cārudatta, is used in the sense of *adhikṣepa* and as the Malayāḷam word "*pucchikkunnu*" has the same meaning, the Malayāḷam may be a formation from the Prākṛt and that the Prākṛt is used in the Cārudatta in its present Malayāḷam sense. There is no authority to say that "पुच्छीअन्ति" has the sense of censure (adhikṣepa). Here it means "spoken of" as the word "पुच्छदि" in the passage "अज्ज किं असाहारण त्ति पुच्छदि" in the Āścaryacūḍamaṇi (p. 6) which

1. Cf. the corresponding passage in Mrc. सिणिद्धगन्धेण &c. (p. 5).

2. Trichur is known as Śivapura but not as Śivapaṭṭaṇa; and this is just as it should be, for according to śilpa treatises paṭṭaṇa means a coastal town of maritime importance, Cf., Mayamata, T. S. S. No. 65, p. 41.

the commentary explains "अत्र पृच्छतेर्लक्षणयाभिधानार्थत्वम्". But, I think no speculation on the word is needed. A little reflection will show that the right word here should be वुच्चीअन्ति[1] as in the corresponding passage in the Mṛcchakaṭika "अदो ज्जेव ताओ महुअरिओ वुच्चन्ति"[2] (p. 53). I have had occasion to examine the passage under reference in one of the manuscripts used for the edition of the Cārudatta, and the word "पुच्छीअन्ति" is found to capable of being read as "वुच्चीअन्ति" (Skt. "उच्यन्ते") as there is small difference between *pu-cchī* and *vu-ccī* in the Malayāḷam script.

Dr. Raja takes the word "रच्छा" to mean "a street" in the passage "आआमितण्डुलोदअप्पवाहा रच्छा" (p. 5) which occurs in the Mṛcchakaṭika but not in the Cārudatta and he infers from this that the passage is omitted in the Cārudatta because street-houses being conspicuous by their absence in Malabar, the description will not appeal to the Malabar audience. The argument is not convincing. The word "रच्छा" (Skt. *rathyā*, Hind. *rasta*) cannot be taken in the restricted sense of a street. It only means a road and according to Kauṭalya[3] a road of four daṇḍas in width which is found in Malabar as in every other country. Even on the assumption that "रच्छा" means a street, the negative nature of the argument cannot prove his case. On the contrary, following his line of argument we can prove that there is no Malabar influence in the Cārudatta from the passage "भावे एशा अन्धआळपूळिशगम्भीळा ळच्छा दीशइ" (p. 16) occurring in it.

Again "हद्धि ताळीपत्तं खु एदं" (p. 63) is found in the Cārudatta, but not in the Mṛcchakaṭika. Dr. Raja says that this passage shows the Malabar influence in the Cārudatta because the wearing of the rolls of palm leaves (Tālīpatra) through the lobes of the ear as an ornament is said to be a common custom in Malabar. This is not so. The custom of wearing rolls of palm leaves as an ear ornament is found in ancient India as is evident from the passage "विधवेवोन्मुक्ततालपत्रा" of Bāṇa in the description of the Vindhya forest in his Kādambarī (Nirnayasagar, Edn. p. 40).

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1. Cf "अदो ज्जेव सा अचेतणेत्ति वुच्चीअदि" (Mrc. p. 291.)
2. References always to the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Edition,
3. "चतुर्दण्डान्तरा रथ्या" Tri. Skt. Series, No. 79, p. 127.

From the fact that "ब्राह्मणी" is found in the Cārudatta in the place of "वधू" in the Mṛcchakaṭika, Dr. Raja holds that "वधू" (a dutiful wife) is changed into "ब्राह्मणी" in the Cārudatta, to suit the taste of the Malabar audience in as much as the latter word is said to denote women of a particular caste in Malabar whom Brahmins keep "as their wives without religious sanction of legal commitment." This is an erroneous view. "ब्राह्मणी" means nothing more than a Brahmin's wife, as such a usage[1] is common in Sanskrit dramas wherever a character plays the role of a Brahmin's wife. If, however, we admit the word "ब्राह्मणी" to be a change in the Cārudatta, then the substitution of the name of a common woman in the place of that of a dutiful wife must be deemed to be perversity of taste on the part of the adaptor of the Cārudatta.

From the above considerations, it can be seen that Dr. Raja's arguments do not make even a *prima facie* case that the Cārudatta is an adaptation by a Malabar hand from the Mṛcchakaṭika.

Dr. Raja then discusses a number of contested points connected with the Bhāsa problem and comes to the conclusion that like the Cārudatta, the Svapnavāsavadatta is also an adaptation. A few of these points may be examined.

Dr. Raja contends that the stanza "भासनाटकचक्र" on which the supporters of the Bhāsa theory have built up their vast discussions is of questionable authority, because, previous to this stanza Rājaśekhara ascribes Nāgānanda and other plays to Bhāsa which are admittedly the works of Harṣa. The previous stanzas fathering Nāgānanda and other plays on Bhāsa are found in an extract from a work called Kavivimarśa ascribed to Rājaśekhara and भासनाटकचक्रे which is the only genuine stanza of Rājaśekhara in the extract is found tacked on to the end of it. Dr. Raja taking all of them as the compsition of Rājaśekhara rejects him as of questionable authority in as much as he wrongly ascribes Nāgānanda and other plays to Bhāsa. In exposing the fictitious character of Kavivimarśa and the alleged extract, I wrote elsewhere [2] as follows :—

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1. Vidūṣaka's wife is called ब्राह्मणी in the Viddhasāla of Rājaśekhara, and also Tāpasa's wife in the Kaiyāṇasaugandhika of Nīlakaṇṭha. Even in the Mṛcchakaṭika, Cārudatta addresses his wife as ब्राह्मणी "हा ब्राह्मणि द्विजकुले विमले प्रसूता" (p. 246.)

2. I. H. Q. Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 370-8, Calcutta.

"The extract is, in fact, known to be a patch-work of truth and falsehood, which an ingenious Paṇḍit had palmed off on some credulous Sanskritists, as an excerpt from a hypothetical work called the Kavivimarśa whose authorship he had cleverly foisted on Rājaśekhara, in imitation of whose other verses the questionable ones were modelled. The last verse of this extract, "भासनाटकचक्रे" occurs under *viśeṣakavipraśaṁsā* in the anthology, Sūktimuktāvalī, as that of poet Rājaśekhara. The anthology was compiled by Jalhaṇa,[1] a counsellor of the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa, who ruled over the Deccan in the second half of the 13th century A. D. It is an unpublished work and its manuscript exists in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library and many other places. A large number of memorial verses about individual poets attributed to poet Rājaśekhara is found in the Sūktimuktāvalī, Hārāvalī and other anthologies, and as these verses have an important bearing on the history of Sanskrit literature, Dr. Peterson[2] has already collected and grouped them together. The author of these verses is known to be the same as the author of the four dramas and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* ; and as these particular verses are not traceable in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* where they might naturally have been expected to be found, their source is surmised to be the Haravilāsa[3], a Kāvya which has also been ascribed to him by Hemacandra. But to the extract under reference and its source, namely the hypothetical Kavivimarśa, there is no reference to be found in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. We have heard of an Udāttarāghava quoted by Dhanika and others and Kiraṇāvalī, an incomplete work on logic by Udayanācārya; but the curious statement that Bhāsa wrote the Udāttarāghava and the tragedy Kiraṇāvalī is in itself an evidence of the spuriousness of the major portion of the extract under reference, excepting the last which has been independently authenticated as that of Rājaśekhara." It is certain that there is no work in existence called the Kavivimarśa and that the alleged extract is the product of a mischievous imagination. We are sorry to note that relying on this prodigious myth, Dr. Raja has made the bold assertion that "there is no grain of evidence for the Bhāsa theory" which is

1. Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search of Sanskrit mss.* 1887, 91, p. 7.
2. J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 57-71.
3. Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. I, p. 17.

inconsistent, with his observation, that "the published Svapnavāsavadatta agrees in most of the essentials with the Svapnavāsavadatta known to Śāradātanaya and Bhoja."

Dr. Raja then interprets the stanza "in quite a different way" thus :—"when the Svapnavasavādatta was thrown as a test in the group of Bhāsa's dramas, the fire (*i. e.*, the conflagration scenes in Bhāsa's dramas) did not burn (excel) it, but the fire burnt (excelled) all the other dramas"; and tries to make out that Svapnavāsavadatta was not the work of Bhāsa but a rival drama to Bhāsa's. This interpretation is absurd for the following reasons :—(1) The stanza is not capable of the construction put upon it, for the word "क्षिप्ते" should be construed as referring to "भासनाटकचक्रे" and not to "स्वप्नवासवदत्ते" (understood); (2) it is against the tradition recorded in the Pṛthvīrājavijaya and its commentary that Bhāsa's work survived the fire ordeal; (3) no evidence is adduced for the statement that Bhāsa's dramas contained conflagration scenes; and (4) Jalhaṇa has the stanza in his Sūktimuktāvalī in praise of Bhāsa; while according to the interpretation of Dr. Raja, it glorifies not the poet Bhāsa but a rival drama to Bhāsa.

His interpretation of the stanza "सञ्चितपक्ष्म कवाटम्" which occurs in the Dhvanyālokalocana (p. 152) as a quotation from a work called Svapnavāsavadatta has led him to infer that it should find a place in the 5th act of the Svapnavāsavadatta. I take "सञ्चित" or more properly "स्वञ्चित" as suggested by Dr. Thomas,[1] to be an obvious epithet[2] of "पक्ष्म" having no special bearing on the meaning of the stanza. The purport of the stanza is this : The form of the princess breaking open my eyes forced its way into my heart, *i. e.*, I saw the princess with my own eyes and her image has been fixed in my heart. This is apparently a description by a lover of his love at first sight and the context is therefore unsuited to the plot of the published text. Besides, the literary style of the stanza, which is expressed in a long-drawn and grotesque metaphor, contrasts very strongly with the simple and charming diction of the published text, unadorned with any rhetorical embellishments. Moreover it is quoted in the Locana as an example of poetry

1. J. R. A. S., 1925, pp. 103-4.
2. Cf. 'अञ्चिताक्षपक्ष्मा" (*Raghu Vaṁśa* 5. 7b.)

where a poet unnaturally subordinates the Rasa to a vain striving after rhetorical effect[1]. This great disparity of style is also a strong evidence to show that it could not find a place in the published Svapnavāsavadatta. Abhinavagupta has however quoted it as from a work called Svapnavāsavadatta, but without impugning his great authority, I think the discrepancy may be explained as due either to the fact that writers on poetics generally adopted illustrations of their predecessors in the field instead of drawing them direct from the sources themselves or that they quoted from memory in those days when there were no great facilities for reference and verification.

Dr. Raja points out that the verse,

"पादाक्रान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोष्म चेदं शिलातलम् ।
नूनं काचिदिहासीना मां दृष्ट्वा सहसा गता ॥"

quoted in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa[2] as from the Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa will not fit in the gap as suggested by Dr. Sūkthankar[3] because the insertion makes the passage "इमाणि अवइदकुसुमाणि सेफ-ळिआगुच्छआणि पेक्खदु दाव भवम्"[4] (p. 37) occurring further on in the published Svapnavāsavadatta a repetition of the first line of the verse. This statement is evidently based on a misinterpretation of the passage into: "These bunches of *śephālikā* flowers crushed." While the correct interpretation, namely, "These *śephālikā* bushes from which the flowers are plucked" makes no repetition at all. He also suggests that there is a displacement of the verse in the published Svapnavāsavadatta in this wise. The second line "सोष्म चेदं शिलातलम्" was omitted because the king could not infer that some one was sitting on the stone seat from the warmth as the seat is described in the text as exposed to the hot sun; and the other three lines were made up by the jester's statements, "तत्तहोदी पदुमावदी इह आअच्छिअ णिग्गदा भवे," and "इमाणि अवइतकुसुमाणि सेफाळिआगुच्छआणि पेक्खदु दाव भवम्" (p. 37). Here the stone seat was not actually hot as Dr. Raja takes it to be inasmuch as the king and the jester continued to

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1. Hence the *anaucitya* in speaking of one's own eyelashes as "स्वञ्चित"
2. J. A. Octobar-December 1923, p. 197.
3. J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 137.
4. References always to the first edition T. S. S. No. 15.

sit thereon till the very close of the *Śephālikāṅka*[1], while the jester's remark "सरअकाळतिक्खो दुस्सहो आदवो" (p. 37) is not meant to show that the seat was hot, but as a device to bring in the bee-incident that follows. Moreover the fact that the princess came to Pramadavana (pleasure garden) to see if the śephālikā bushes were in blossom shows that the incidents of the scene took place early in the morning. The statement that the "rest of the stanza was allotted to the jester" is, as already shown, based on a misunderstanding of the passages. That there is no displacement of the verse in the text may be seen from what is stated below :—The king feeling the stone seat to be warm observes that some lady must have been sitting thereon and left on seeing him; while the jester surmises that the lady must have been Padmāvatī because the flowers were plucked from the śephālikā bushes which none else would dare to do in the pleasure garden.

He further states that, according to the quotation of Sarvānanda in the Amaraṭīkāsarvasva[2], the Svapnavāsavadatta should contain the incident of the marriage of Udayana with Vāsavadattā whereas it is not found in the published Svapnavāsavadatta, and argues that the incident formed the concluding portion of the original Svapnavāsavadatta and that the published text is only an adaptation of the first six acts of the original work.

When Udayana was in full enjoyment of a happy wedded life with Vāsavadattā, Yaugandharāyaṇa contrives to bring about a marriage between his master and Padmāvatī, the Magadha princess and thus recover the lost territories of his master by means of an alliance with the Magadha king. But Udayana was so passionately attached to Vāsavadattā that he could not be persuaded to fall in with his plans during the life time of Vāsavadattā, and much less would the Magadha king consent to his sister being given in marriage to one who had already a royal consort in Vāsavadattā. The resourceful minister, however, tries another plan with Vāsavadattā by which the noble lady agrees to suffer for the sake of her lord. Accordingly he spreads out the rumour that Vāsavadattā was burnt to death in the Lāvāṇaka

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1. राजा—तस्मदिहैवासिष्यावहे । विदू-एवं होदु । (उभावुपविशतः) ......इमादो सिळावट्टआदो ण सक्कं एक्क पदं वि गमिदुम्(pp. 38, 41.)

2. T. S. S. No. 38, p. 147.

conflagration and entrusts her, disguised as Āvantikā, with Padmāvatī herself. All these incidents of the story of Udayana are presupposed by the plot in the published Svapnavāsavadatta which is by itself organically complete. It is therefore inconceivable how the incident of Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā could form the concluding portion of the play as now published without spoiling its artistic effect. Besides, Vāsavadattā is mentioned all through the play as *Devī*[1] and *Mahiṣī*[2]—epithets appropriate only to a duly anointed queen.

The verse "शरच्छशाङ्कगौरेण" (p. 46) occurring in the published Svapnavāsavadatta is quoted by Vāmana in his Kāvyālaṅkāra sūtra with the variant reading "शरच्चन्द्रांशुगौरेण"[3], and the commentator Gopendra Tippa observes "चन्द्रांशुगौरेणेत्यनेन चन्द्रिकायां काशपुष्पलवस्याविवेचनीयता सूचिता". From this it is argued that the incidents of the scene took place on a moon-lit night and that because the incidents in the published text are laid in day time, the text has undergone some alteration. It has already been shown that the incidents of the scene took place in a morning. Besides Gopendra Tippa's ingenious commentary alone cannot suffice to establish that the incidents of the scene took place on a moon-lit night in the absence of evidence to show that he had a knowledge of the source from which Vāmana quoted the above verse.

It should be plain from the foregoing that the arguments advanced by Dr. Kunhan Raja are too weak to support his theory that the published Svapnavāsavadatta is an adaptation from a larger drama of that name. In conclusion, I have only to add that Dr. Raja whose carelessness has been illustrated in this short paper could have been less extravagant in his remarks about the capacity or critical acumen of the late editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series whose reputation as a scholar of unquestioned versatility and eminence had been suitably recognized in the joint session of the American Oriental Society, the Royal Asiatic Society and Society Asiatique of Paris in July 1920, when the Sanskritists therein assembled voted him an address.

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1. देव्यपनये कृता ते बुद्धिः......स्वामिन् देव्याः कुशलनिवेदनार्थम् (pp. 76, 77.)
2. पृच्छाद्य राजमहिषीम् (p. 73.)
3. Benares. Skt. Series. 1908, p 145.

THE AGE OF MAṆIMĒKALAI

BY

K. V. RAMACHANDRAN.

It is a pity that scholars unanimously assume that the bulk of early Tamil poetry is the product of one age. In fact, the poems assigned to the so-called Saṅgham age represent varying degrees of antiquity and a thorough and critical examination of these is necessary before they can be chronologically regrouped, if such regrouping is at all possible. In the poems Cilappadikāram and Maṇimēkalai, however, we have material of a better class and a scrutiny of the available evidence is bound to reveal some historical landmarks, on the basis of which, a considerable section of Tamil literary history can be reconstructed. The late Mr. R. Svāminātha Iyer attacked the problem from the philological point of view. Prof. Jacobi established[1] the textual identity of passages in Maṇimēkalai and an early Sanskrit treatise. A similar but very much humbler attempt is made in the present paper and the writer hopes that in spite of the numerous conjectures offered, he is not quite off the track.

Our knowledge of the Buddhistic pantheon is more full than that of Tamil history. The question arises, what period of the history of Buddhism does the mythology of Maṇimēkalai fit in with ?

The poem is named after the heroine and the heroine after the goddess Maṇimēkalai and the theme of the poem appears to be the exaltation of this goddess. Tivatilakai, the guardian of Maṇipallavam, announces the destruction of Puhar by the sea let loose by this goddess and later we read of a temple that was built for her at Kāñci, at the instance of the heroine. Kōvalaṉ, an ancestor of the heroine was said to have invoked her when shipwrecked. Kōvalaṉ was saved and he attributed his deliverance to her and made her his family deity. Who was this goddess?

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1. Independently of what Prof. Jacobi might have said in this matter, the textual identity of certain passage in the Maṇimēkalai and in the Nyāya-praveśa, was established in the article on 'Aravaṇavaṭikaḷ' in part III Vol I-July 1927 of this Journal. S. K. Sastri.

The goddess Tārā of the Buddhists was 'mistress of the boats.' She controlled waves and floods. 'Tārā the mother whom waters obey is the chief of those Śaktis who guide the boats'. She had millions of boat-women under her and she bestowed wealth like Lakṣmī. The goddess Maṇimēkalai was no other than Tārā.

Messrs. Waddel and Hīrānanda Śāstrī[1] have conclusively proved that the Tārā cult was unknown in India, prior to the 6th century A.D. Tārā became popular in the 7th century and the maritime activity of the period gave her a vogue such as she never had before. The poem Maṇimēkalai, which does literary propaganda for this goddess, cannot be assigned to an age earlier than the 6th century.

On the strength of this upper limit, the poem may be tentatively interpreted in the light of Javanese chronology, in so far as the latter is available.

Java and Sumatra appear to have been colonised early and there were undoubtedly several streams of colonists that started from various parts of the Indian continent. Two phases are recognised in the colonisation of Java, the first of which introduced Brahminism and the second Mahāyāna Buddhism into the island. The latter was associated with the kings of the Śailendra dynasty. The earliest reference to Tārā in Java is the Kalasan inscription of 778 A.D. which records the dedication of a temple to her by a Śailendra.

In the poem Maṇimēkalai we have glimpses into the process of evangelisation of Java. The conversion of the cannibals by Caḍuvan the merchant-missionary, is an instance. The legend of Āputra is, in all probability, a parable indicating the advent of later Buddhist culture in Java and is perhaps also a reminiscence of some outstanding king of the island. It must be remembered that instead of being reborn in Magadha, the reward for righteousness such as his, he is reborn in Java. Did he symbolise the extinction of the faith in India and its revival in other lands? And was the Indra dynasty that ruled from Nāgapuram the same as the Śailendra dynasty that dominated Java in the 7th and 8th centuries? The conjectures do not appear improbable.

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1. 'The cult of Avalōkitēśwara and Tārā' by Waddel in J. R. A. S. Jan. 1894. 'The cult of Tārā' by H. Śāstry.

While during Fa Hien's visit 'heretics and Brahmins flourished in the island' and Buddhism was not known, in I Tsing's time Brahminism had all but disappeared. The Java of Maṇimēkalai is more like that of I Tsing than that of Fa Hien.

Mention may be made of Kucarakuṭikai on which Smith based his argument for a late date for the poem. According to the Kāmikāgama quoted by the late Mr. Gopinath Rau[1], Kuṭikai was the place where a rich landlord lived with his tenants and dependents. The Kuṭikai under reference was therefore a settlement or quarter of the city and not a temple. Kucarakuṭikai was the Kūrjara quarter of the city and was thus named to distinguish it, for instance, from the Yavanacēri. Smith's argument may be taken to be sound in view of this interpretation.

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1. Elements of Hindu Iconography Vol. II—Part II, Page 428.

APPENDIX.

THE LEGEND OF ĀPUTRA.

Būmi-candra was the king of Java and his queen was *Amarasundari.* His capital was *Nāgapuram* and the mountain close to it was *Davalamalai.* There was a twelve-year famine in the good king's reign and his people were sore afflicted.

On *Davalamalai, Maṇ-muka riṣi* was doing penance and one day there appeared unto him a cow with golden horns and hoofs, that fed the famished with her wondrous milk. The seer knew that a super-man who would save all life was about to issue from her (out of a golden egg). And so it happened. A boy arose on the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha.* Marvels attended his birth even like unto those that attended the birth of *Buddha.* The king *Būmi-candra* who had no offspring brought up the child as his own.

The child grew up to be *Puṇya Rājā.* During his time there was plenty of rain and famine was heard of no more. His preceptor was *Darma-Cāvaka* who resided in a grove adjoining *Nāgapuram.*

(The story of the king in his previous birth belongs to India, also that of his cow-mother; and they are summarised now. He was known as Āputra because a cow had taken care of him when he was abandoned by his mother. A Brahmin villager in the *Pāṇḍya* country brought him up, but renounced him when he grew to be a heretic (*i.e.*) when he rescued a cow from a sacrifice and engaged the Brahmins in controversy and ridiculed their great men. He was ostracised by the community, but was befriended by the goddess *Cintā-Dēvī,* who gave him a miraculous bowl, out of which he fed the starving. *Indra* taking fright at his righteousness, made the country fertile by timely showers of rain. There was none to seek *Āputra* for food now. Hearing, through sometravellers, of a famine in Java, he took ship and alighted accidentally at *Maṇipallavam.* The captain, ignorant of the fact, set sail during the night. Āputra in despair flung the bowl into the pond *Gōmuki* and gave up his life. He was reborn as the King of Java.)

The nun Maṇimēkalai visited the king and induced him to make a pilgrimage to the footprints at *Maṇipallavam*, so that he may gain knowledge of his previous birth. The king took it into his head to renounce the kingdom, but his minister *Janamitra* remonstrating, he entrusted the care of the state to *Janamitra* for one month, took boat to *Maṇipallavam*, offered worship to the footprints and gained knowledge of his past birth. He saw the bodily remains of *Āputra* the waves had thrown up, also those of his seven fellow-passengers and their dependants who accompanied him on the voyage, who finding that their companion had been stranded, had returned to the island and given up their lives.

The King learned that, consequent on a curse by the goddess Maṇimēkalai, Puhar was washed away by the sea, and returned to his city.

APPAYYA DĪKṢITA'S AGE.

BY

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The Appayya-Dīkṣitendra-vijaya by the venerable Saṁnyāsin, Śivānandayōgīndra, was published in 1920 by M. R. Ry Gaṇapati Śāstrial avl, of Karathur. Even before the publication of the work the verse in it which describes the nativity of Appayya Dīkṣita had obtained much currency among scholars. The verse is as follows :—

वीणातत्त्वज्ञसङ्ख्यालसितकलिसमाभाक् प्रमातीचवर्षे
कन्यामासेऽथ कृष्णप्रथमतिथियुतेऽप्युत्तरप्रोष्ठपाद्रे ।
कन्यालग्नेऽद्रिकन्यापतिरमितदयाशेवधिर्वैदिकेषु
श्रीदेव्यै प्राग्यथोक्तं समजनि हि समीपेऽत्र काञ्चीनगर्याः ॥

The last quarter has an alternative reading

श्रीदेव्यै प्राग्यथाऽऽह स्म समजनि विरिञ्चीशपुर्यां कलेशः ॥

The date indicated by this verse is detailed out in several corresponding eras by Śivānanda. Kali 4654; Śaka 1475; Vikrama Śaka 1610; Kollam 729 etc. We may add the Christian era 1553 A.D., about the 18th of September.

In another verse Śivānanda gives the horoscope itself.

लग्ने रवीन्दुसुतयोर्मकरे च मान्दौ मीने शशिन्यथ वृषे रविजे च राहौ ।
चापे गुरौ क्षितिसुते मिथुने तुलायां शुक्रे शिखिन्यलिगते शुभलग्न एवम् ॥

The planetary possitions in the Rāśi are therefore :—

<table>
<tr><td>Candra</td><td></td><td>Śani and Rāhu</td><td>Kuja</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Rāśi</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Māndi</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Ketu</td><td>Śukra</td><td>Lagna-Ravi and Budha.</td></tr>
</table>

These verses are found also in the commentary of Śivānanda upon Appayya Dīkṣita's Ātmārpaṇastuti.

From about the last decade of the Nineteenth century up to the present time, various works of Appayya Dīkṣita have been published throughout India. One of the earliest scholars to write an introductory note on Appayya Dīkṣita was the late Bhaṭṭa Śrī Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī. In 1894 he contributed a preface to the Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha. He does not seem to have known these verses of Śivānanda giving a definite date for Appayya Dīkṣita; for drifting dizzily upon a whirlpool of traditions he lands upon the conclusion that the Dīkṣita lived from 1587 to 1660. Thirty years back, when the epigraphical discoveries were not brilliant enough to illuminate sufficiently the dark pages of South Indian History during the century under consideration, it is not surprising that critics were left to cull materials for reconstruction from half-true or wholly misleading traditions. They had but one solitary sign-post for both the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries from which they had to work either backward or forward scenting with their common-sense the nearest probabilities. This sign-post was furnished by that essentially modern mind of Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in his Nīlakaṇṭha Vijayacampū, where he mentions that he wrote the work in 1636 A. D. Some traditional matter mixed with this datum gave various conjectural dates for Appayya Dīkṣita such as, 1564 to 1636 ; 1550 to 1623 and so on.

The learned editors of the Arivīḻimaṅgalam plates of Śrī Raṅga quote Śivānanda's verses apparently second hand, and conclude "Hence it is clear that Appayya Dīkṣita lived from about 1554 to 1626." (*Vide* Ep. Ind. XII).

As early as 1892 the late Paṇḍit Hālāsyanātha Śāstrī, in his preface to the Kuvalayānanda, relied upon Śivānanda's biography for the date 1552 being the birth-date of Appayya Dīkṣita.

Since these publications, there has been no divergence of opinion upon the date of Appayya Dīkṣita. In his very learned introduction to the Gaṅgāvataraṇam published in 1902 at Bombay, M. R. Ry. T. S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstriar of Tanjore has sought to lay hold upon a corroborative evidence available in the translation of Oriental Historical Manuscripts by Taylor. In Vol. II, page. 149 of that work, an account is given of a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava dispute at Madura in 1626 Akṣaya year ; in which two arbitrators were appointed namely Appa Dīkṣita for Śaivas

and Ayyā Dīkṣitan Ayyan for Vaiṣṇavas. The dispute continued hotly for six months and was carried on in the presence of Tirumal Naik, the then King of Madura. Accordingly it is inferred that in Akṣaya, Appaya Dīkṣita went, on Tirumal Naik's invitation, to Madura and arbitrated for six months and then came back to Chidambaram to die. Having been thus affirmed at both the extremities, the date of 1553-1626 has taken a firm root. Undoubtedly the intervening duration tallies with the well-established longevity of the दीक्षित, for Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha remarks in the first canto of his Śivalīlārṇava.—

कालेन शम्भुः किल तावतापि कलाश्चतुष्षष्टिमिताः प्रणिन्ये ।
द्वासप्ततिं प्राप्य समाः प्रबन्धान् शतं व्यधादप्पयदीक्षितेन्द्रः ॥

In 1920 in the preface written by my father to the biography under discussion, for the first time as far as I am aware, the accepted date of 1553 to 1626 was discredited and an alternative date of 1520 to 1593 was propounded. But the attention of scholars, I venture to think, has not been directed to it, as some of the works of Appayya Dīkṣita publisbed since 1920 still unsuspectingly stick to the date of 1553-1626 in their prefatory notes.

Nothing is easier to a student of South Indian History than the determination of the precise date of Appayya Dīkṣita as the Dīkṣita himself is unmistakable in his references to his Royal patrons. Before entering into the question in hand directly, I beg the permission of the reader to digress a little, for the purpose of taking a bird's eye view of the political condition of South India in the Sixteenth century.

Vijayanagar was exercising her imperial sway from the Tuṅgabhadrā to the Tāmraparṇī. Gingi, Vellore, Mysore, Tanjore, Madura and even Travancore, acknowledged her suzerainty. The Muslim kingdoms to the north of the Tuṅgabhadrā were held under effective check. But all this imperial glory had to be maintained intact only by unceasing military alertness. Battles, expeditions and seiges were not few, for, apart from the Muslim danger on the flank, there were frequent internal disturbances in the Empire on account of the insubordination of feudatories far and near.

At the commencement of the century, the Tuḷuva dynasty had come to power. Narasiṁha, the son of Narasa Naik, ascended

the imperial throne of Vijayanagar in 1505 after deposing Vīra-narasiṁha of the Sāluva line. He was succeeded by his brother Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya in 1509. He ruled till his death in 1528. 1509 to 1528 was the most glorious period in the history of the Empire of Vijayanagar. The power of the Imperial Government was felt and respected in its farthest limits, and the Augustan age of Telugu literature (synchronising with the last renaissance-period of Sanskrit literature) put forth its first blossoms. Kṛṣṇa-deva Rāya was succeeded by his brother Acyuta Rāya (1528 to 1542), who in his turn was succeeded by his brother's son Sadāśiva Rāya. (1542 to 1567.) Sadāśiva was a mere boy when he was installed Emperor of Vijayanagar. Rāma Rāya of the Karnāṭak line of princes, who was the son-in-law of the late Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, was instrumental in securing for Sadāśiva the throne which was disputed. He acted as Sadāśiva's regent. Even when Sadāśiva grew up, he was so inefficient that he continued a puppet leaving the whole administration in the hands of Rāma Rāya.

1565, the year of the battle of Talikoṭṭa or Raksas-Tagdi (as Prof. Heras would call it) was a turning point in Vijayanagar history. The Empire came to an end for a while. The seat of Government was no more Vijayanagar, for that imperial city was rased to the ground by the vindictive Muslims. Rāma Rāya had died in the battle at the advanced age of 97 years. When in 1567 Sadāśiva died, Tirumalai, brother of Rāma Rāya, proclaimed himself king. The seat of Government from thence was Candragiri or Penukoṇḍa. The accession of Tirumalai marks the change of line from Tuḷuva to the Āravīḍu dynasty.

In 1574 Tirumalai's son Śrī Raṅga ascended the throne. His brother Veṅkaṭapati succeeded him and ruled from 1585 to 1614. These princes recovered the lost glory of the Empire during their times to a considerable extent.

Gingi was an important feudatory of Vijayanagar. One Śūrappa Naik was the ruler from about 1550 to 1575; and from about 1578 till about 1610, one Kṛṣṇappa Naik was the ruler. This much only is the certain information we are able to gather from the sources about Gingi.

Vellore figures more prominently in the Epigraphic records of the period and we are aware that till about the middle of the century one Cinna Vīrappa Naik was its ruling Chief and that

afterwards (*i.e.* from about 1549) his son, Cinna Bomma Naik became the ruler. He seems to have flourished till 1578. He was succeeded by his son Liṅgama Naik who continued to rule till about 1614.

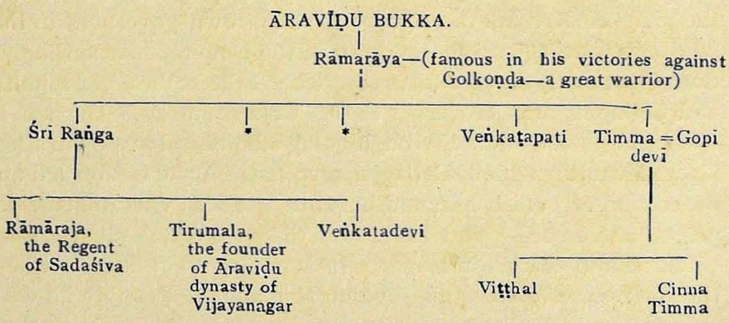
There were the Chiefs of Kārveṭanagar. It will suffice for us to know that in the first two decades of the 17th Century the ruling Chief was one Sālva Māka Rāya.

When Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya was reigning at Vijayanagar, one Vīra Śekhara Cōḻa was the king of Tanjore. But it was the plan of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya to have his own governors in the far south to safeguard the interests of the Empire. Accordingly, during his time, Sālva Naik, otherwise called Vīra Narasiṁha and Cellappa, was Governor of the Cōḻa countries. He was a masterful person and a thorough-going administrator. Soon after Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya died, Cellappa revolted. Acyuta Rāya led an expedition to punish him and his allies. These operations took place between 1530 and 1535. On the latter date Cellappa was defeated and made a prisoner. It is not clear in history whether he was restored to his governorship or not. Possibly he was restored and continued to rule for about ten more years, at the end of which period very likely he died. There is an opinion among some scholars that this Cellappa—Sālva Naik—Vīranarasiṁha was none other than the Sālva King of Vijayanagar who was deposed by the founder of the Tuḷuva dynasty. If this view be correct, the lenience here assumed to have been shown to him by Acyuta by restoring him to power after revolt, would seem appropriate.

Anyhow some years before 1549, the new line of Tanjore Naiks was founded. Śevvappa was Acyutarāya's queen's sister's husband. Śevvappa got the Cōḻa kingdom as his wife's Strīdhana from Acyuta. Śevvappa ruled at Tanjore till about 1577. His son Acyutappa ruled till 1597 and was succeeded by Raghunātha; Raghunātha ruled for a fairly long period till about 1634 or so.

The contemporary of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya at Madura was one Śrī Vallabhadeva Pāṇḍya. The contemporary of Acyuta at Madura was Candra Śekhara Pāṇḍya. This Pāṇḍya being weak was driven out by Vīra Śekhara Cōḻa of Tanjore in or about 1537, and he applied for protection to Vijayanagar. Acyuta sent Nāgama Naik for restoring the Pāṇḍya to his kingdom and chastising Vīra Śekhara. The latter was killed in battle and the

former was restored. In or about 1542 Candra Śekhara died without an heir, bequeathing his kingdom willingly to Viśvanātha Naik, son of Nāgama Naik. Thus was founded the Madura Naik dynasty. But until 1558 his power was nominal, as Viṭṭhal and Cinna Timma were Viceroys of the South with supreme authority. These were the cousins of Rāma Rāya, the then regent of Sadāśiva. The pedigree of the family is very important from our point of view. The relevant portion of it is as follows :—



Having thus briefly sketched the political history of the period, I shall now try to explain in what manner the above sketch helps us in determining the date of Appayya Dīkṣita. Fortunately the chronology of the kings mentioned by the Dīkṣita in his works as his patrons takes such a line that it covers the whole of the Dīkṣita's life. I shall here take these up in the order of chronology.

The Dīkṣita's first patron was Prince Cinna Timma, upon whose request he wrote his commentary on Vedānta Deśika's epic, Yādavābhyudayam. The prelude is as follows :—

वंशे महति सुधांशोः पाण्डुसुतप्रवरचरितपरिपूते ।
आसीदपारमहिमा महीश्वरो रामराज इति ॥
उदपादि तिम्मराजः ततोम्बुधेरिव सुधामयान्मणिराजः ।
हृदयङ्गमं मुरारेर्यमलश्चक्रे प्रभेव गोपीदेवी ॥
राजर्षिरेव सुचिरं धुरि स्थितः सत्यसन्धानाम् ।
आराध्य वेङ्कटेश्वरमलभत लोकोत्तरान् पुत्रान् ॥
तेषु महितेषु जयति त्रिदिवाधीशेषु पद्मबन्धुरिव ।
श्रीचिन्नतिम्मराजः प्रतापनीराजितक्षमावलयः ॥

प्लवमानस्य समुद्रे सेतोरशैथिल्यशङ्कया निहिताः ।
कीला इव भासन्ते तत्रत्या यस्य पृथुजयस्तम्भाः ॥
मलयाद्रिकटकनिकटे विन्ध्य इवाभाति यज्जयस्तम्भः ।
अद्यापि नागतोऽसीत्यगस्त्यमनुयोक्तुमन्तिकोन्मग्नः ॥
अभिभवति कालमेघं रविकरनिकरं तिरस्कुरुते ।
यद्दानवारिसागरजन्मा जगदद्भुतो यशश्चन्द्रः ॥
सूक्तिमयैः स्वप्रभवैरमृतैराप्याययन् सदा विबुधान् ।
कुलकूटस्थस्येन्दोराचारं योऽनुवर्तते धीरः ॥
साहित्यगोष्ठीं सरसमातिष्ठन्नयमेकदा ।
यादवाभ्युदयं काव्यमौश्रौषीद्विदुषां मुखात् ॥
अव्याख्याततया पूर्वैरनभिव्यक्तभावकम् ।
अघृष्टमिव शिल्पज्ञैरभिजातं हरिन्मणिम् ॥
तदाकर्णनतः सद्य स्समुदञ्चत्कुतूहलः ।
विदुषां पुरतस्तस्य विवृतौ मां न्ययोजयत् ॥
कवितार्किकसिंहस्य काव्यमेतद्यथामति ।
विवृणोमि महीपालनियोगबहुमानतः ॥

We know that Cinna Timma was in the South from 1542 to about 1550, as General of the Empire and as Viceroy. Soon after the coronation of Sadāśiva, he was sent with his brother Viṭṭhal, to subdue the rebellious feudatories of the south, including Travancore, which had withheld tribute to Vijayanagar. Cinna Timma conquered Cōḷa, Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya Kingdoms, subdued Travancore and the Coromandel coast. He is sometimes referred to as the Governor of Trichinopoly. Possibly he had Trichinopoly for his headquarters. For about a decade he was engaged in reorganising the province of Madura of which Viśvanātha Naik was then the Governor. Viśvanātha Naik must have played a subordinate part to Cinna Timma. Appayya Dīkṣita's account of the victories of Cinna Timma is very precise. The Yādavābhyudaya-vyākhyā should have been written about 1550, after the military successes of Çinna Timma in the South and possibly to commemorate the same.

Appayya Dīkṣita's next patron was Cinna Bomma Naik of Vellore. We hear of him in inscriptions dating from 1549 to 1578. As the Aḍaiyapalam inscription dated 1582 refers to him

in terms of past he should have died between 1578 and 1582. Appayya Dīkṣita lived the longest period under the patronage of Cinna Bomma and the Dīkṣita's keenest activities in connection with the revival of Śaivism were conducted during this period. He then wrote all his Śaiva works. In the Śivārkamaṇidīpikā and Śivārcanacandrikā, Cinna Bomma is expressly mentioned as his benevolent patron. The latter work was written for the very purpose of initiating Cinna Bomma into the worship of Śiva. On the completion of the former work Cinna Bomma bathed the Dīkṣita in a profuse shower of gold. The following references make clear the Dīkṣita's connection with Cinna Bomma.

शिवार्कमणिदीपिकावसानलब्धकनकस्नानः प्रशंसितस्समरपुङ्गवयज्वना यथा—

हेमाभिषेकसमये परितो निषण्णसौवर्णसंहतिमिषाच्चिनबोम्मभूपः ।
अप्पय्यदीक्षितमणेरनवद्यविद्याकल्पद्रुमस्य कुरुते कनकालवालम् ॥

—Nalacarita Nāṭaka of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.

नानादेशनरेन्द्रमण्डलमहायत्नातिदूरीभव-
त्कादाचित्कपदारविन्दविनतेरप्पय्ययज्वप्रभोः ।
शैवोत्कर्षपरिष्कृतैरहरहस्सूक्तैस्सुधालालितैः
फुल्लत्कर्णपुटस्य बोम्मनृपतेः पुण्यानि गण्यानि किम् ॥

—by another.

येन श्रीचिन्नबोम्मक्षितिपवलभिदः कीर्तिरव्याहताऽऽसीत् ।

—The Aḍaiyapalam inscription of 1582.

Possibly the bathing in gold was performed in or about 1582, and Appayya Dīkṣita, as became a selfless devotee, utilised the gold for building a temple of Śiva in his birth place-soon after. The gist of the Aḍaiyapalam inscription is that Appayya Dīkṣita built the temple of Kālakaṇṭheśvara at Aḍaiyapalam (the inscription itself is engraved on the walls of the temple) in 1582.

Appayya Dīkṣita's last patron was Veṅkaṭapatideva Rāya of Penukoṇḍa who came to throne in 1585. In the Kuvalayānanda the concluding verse is as follows :—

अमुं कुवलयानन्दमकरोदप्पदीक्षितः ।
नियोगाद्वेङ्कटपतेर्निरुपाधिकृपानिधेः ॥

There is a verse in his विधिरसायन containing a reference to King Veṅkaṭa—

प्राप्तं तत्प्रापणीयं किल यदिह कियान् पूरणीयोऽस्ति नांशो
नानिष्टं वानिवर्त्यं निजविषयतया दृश्यते किञ्चिदत्र ।
किं तु व्यापारमेष प्रथयति फलसंयोजनार्थं परेषां
प्राप्तः पुण्यैरगण्यैरिव विबुधगणो वेङ्कटक्षोणिपालम् ॥

My great-grandfather, Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāju Śāstrigal of Mannārgudi, has commented upon this verse in his दीक्षितवंशाभरण, a small but very instructive prose work dealing with the life and doings of Appayya Dīkṣita. He says that the indication is clear in the verse that the Dīkṣita frequented the courts of kings not for any benefit for himself but for the benefit of others. In fact, the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita was introduced by Appayya Dīkṣita to Veṅkaṭapati, in whose court the former lived for some time. Bhaṭṭoji was a pupil of Appayya Dīkṣita and came all the way from Benares to study the Śāstras under him. He bows to his Guru in his तन्त्रसिद्धान्तदीपिका in these terms.

अप्पय्यदीक्षितेन्द्रानशेषविद्यागुरूनहं वन्दे ।
यत्कृतिबोधाबोधौ विद्वदविद्वद्विभाजकोपाधी ॥

Bhaṭṭoji wrote Tattva Kaustubha at the instance of Veṅkaṭapati.

Bhaṭṭoji had already written his सिद्धान्तकौमुदी when he came to the south to study under Appayya Dīkṣita whose fame and immortal works had spread by that time to the north. The verse of Appayya Dīkṣita above quoted from विधिरसायन also indicates that the Dīkṣita was ripe in age when he wrote it, with a strong tendency to retire from the affairs of the world. He had neither good to aspire for, nor evil to avert, but still for the sake of helping others he lingered on the प्रवृत्ति side of life, not un-willingly, because of his generous nature.

Thus about fifty years of Appayya Dīkṣita's life can be clearly traced out as running concurrent with the lives of Cinna Timma, Cinna Bomma and Veṅkaṭapati. The remaining twenty-two years of his life (which acknowledgedly ran for a maximum of 72 years) must undoubtedly be assigned to his boyhood ; for,

when he first rose into fame, he should have at least passed his boyhood and reached adult age. It is not improper therefore to assume that he was about twenty-five or thirty years when his great scholarship was recognised by Cinna Timma, who thought fit to ask him to comment upon the Yādavābhyudaya in the midst of an assembly of eminent scholars. His date of birth must be such as would conveniently cover all the reigns of the three monarchs leaving a margin for the initial years of his making. As he wrote not less than two works in the era of Veṅkaṭapati, his life should have overlapped Veṅkaṭapati's reign by at least seven or eight years, especially as we know that the Dīkṣita spent, in complete retirement, his last days at Chidambaram. In thus considering the probabilities, we may hazard that the Dīkṣita could not have been born earlier than about 1520. The margin of the number of years of Dīkṣita's life overlapping Veṅkaṭapati's reign could not be wider than seven or eight years, because the Dīkṣita must have been at least twenty-five years old when he came into contact with Cinna Timma.

There is stronger evidence to show that his birth could not have been later than about 1520, and for this conclusion Śivānanda himself lends considerable light and logic. He mentions two royal patrons of the Dīkṣita, Narasiṁha and Cinna Bomma and a contemporary, a King named Candraśekhara. With Chinna Bomma I have dealt at length. I now proceed to consider the historical identity of the other two. Though Śivānanda may be inaccurate in making Narasiṁha rule over Tanjore from about 1528 to about 1628, —He makes Cinna Bomma also rule at Vellore precisely for the same length of time— we may presume that some little historical truth is hidden beneath his traditional authority for the assertion. In the sketch of the political history of South India given already, I have mentioned some theories about Vīra Narasiṁha of Tanjore. I do not think that I should repeat myself here at length. He was undoubtedly the imperial Governor of the Cōḻa Kingdoms from 1509 to 1530. After the latter date he revolted and was subdued by Acyuta in 1535. History does not tell us whether he was restored to his Governorship after that. But if any historical truth attaches to Śivānanda's mention of Narasiṁha being a most devoted and constant patron of the Dīkṣita, it should be a welcome information to historians for the light which it throws upon the subsequent history of Cellappa alias Vīrā Narasiṁha. If the above suppositions are

correct, Narasiṁha was an earlier patron of the Dīkṣita than Cinna Timma himself.

The Dīkṣita's works on Alaṅkāra contain certain verses in praise of a "Nṛsiṁha". There is a tradition that the verses referring to Nṛsiṁha were the Dīkṣita's own verses. I give them here below.

द्विर्भाव: पुष्पकेतोर्विबुधविटपिनां पौनरुक्त्यं विकल्प-
श्चिन्तारत्नस्य वीप्सा तपनतनुभुवो वासवस्य द्विरुक्तिः ।
द्वैतं देवस्य दैत्याधिपमथनकलाकेलिकारस्य कुर्व-
न्नानन्दं कोविदानां जगति विजयते श्रीनृसिंहक्षितीन्द्रः ॥
नरसिंह धरानाथ के वयं तव वर्णने ।
अपि राजानमाक्रम्य यशो यस्य विजृम्भते ॥
नरसिंह महीपाल विदुस्त्वां मकरध्वजम् ॥
मार्गणास्तव सञ्जाताः कथं सुमनसोऽन्यथा ॥

All these verses are found in Vidyādhara's Ekāvalī. So, they could not have been composed by Dīkṣita, who flourished long after Vidyādhara.

According to Śivānanda, Narasiṁha attended the first sacrifice performed by Appayya Dīkṣita at or near Chidambaram. He did not attend the Yajña from the first, but came for the अवभृथ after hearing of the miracle of the *paśus* visibly ascending to heaven in the Dīkṣita's Yajña. In this biography this is the only context in which Narasiṁha has anything really to do with Appayya Dīkṣita. But Śivānanda purposelessly (and unhistorically) drags in his name till the very end, always conventionally coupling him with Cinna Bomma. Much of the later life of Appayya Dīkṣita was spent in the north and Narasiṁha was out of the question there. Moreover if the theory that this Vīra Narasiṁha is identical with the deposed Sāluva King, he could not have lived longer than 1545 as by that time he should have been very old.

Now I shall turn to Candraśekhara. Śivānanda mentions him as a patron of Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and as King of Aryāvarta, Poona, Orissa, Benares, Mithila, Marwada, etc. Those were the times of Baber and Humayun and the description is a sheer bombast. As a matter of fact there was a Pāṇḍyan King named Candraśekhara, mentioned already in the historical sketch

given above. Candraśekhra died in or about 1542. From the biography, it appears that Candraśekhara came to hear of the rising reputation of a young scholar named Appayya Dīkṣita and playfully challenged the eminent scholars of his court to meet him in disputation. Ratnakheṭa accepted the challenge but eventually found no other means of making Appayya Dīkṣita bow to him than by becoming his father-in-law. Thus Candraśekhara indirectly brings about the marriage of Appayya Dīkṣita. It is likely that Appayya was about twenty years old when he married Ratnakheṭa's daughter Maṅgaḷanāyakī. It may be mentioned here that tradition accords with the foregoing inferences, that the fame of Appayya Dīkṣita as a great scholar spread when he was no more than twenty years of age. My great-grand-father, in his दीक्षितवंशाभरण already, referred to, records that, before Appayya Dīkṣita was twenty years old, his fame for learning spread far and wide, and that an aged poet named सार्वभौम sang thus in praise of him, having made a journey to see him.

बद्धस्पर्धान्यविद्वत्प्रमुखमुखपुटीमुद्रणोन्निद्रमेधा-
    शिल्पिस्त्वामप्पयज्वन् कथय कथमिव द्रोग्धुमल्पाः प्रगल्भाः ।
क्रीडाचञ्चच्चपेटाहतकरटिघटाकुम्भकूटाधिरूढ-
    प्रौढाटोपाय मूढाः किमु मृगपतये रोहिता द्रोहितारः ॥

It is very likely that Appayya became a Dīkṣita early in life soon after his marriage. It may be interesting to refer here to a verse of his which reveals with what veneration and pride he held the distinction of being a performer of Yajñas. He thus refers to his ancestry—

विद्वद्गुरोर्विहितविश्वजिदध्वरस्य
    श्रीसर्वतोमुखमहाव्रतयाजिसूनोः ।
श्रीरङ्गराजमखिनः श्रितचन्द्रमौलि-
    रस्त्यप्पदीक्षित इति प्रथितस्तनूजः ॥

And Mīmāṁsā was his favourite subject. Hence I have no hesitation in inferring that he was married at about his twentieth year and he became a Dīkṣita at about his twenty-fifth year. The two Kings mentioned by Śivānanda help us to fix this chronology in the Dīkṣita's life. Candraśekhara was the unwitting cause of the Dīkṣita's marriage with Ratnakheṭa's daughter and Narasiṁha attended upon the Dīkṣita at his first Yajña. About his

occupations of learning Dīkṣita himself is explicit as heretofore detailed.

From the foregoing investigations we have been logically led to the conclusion that the Dīkṣita's life covered seventy-two years of the Sixteenth Century, the year of his birth being more removed from the commencement of the century than the year of his death was anterior to the end of the century.

There is a clue to the exact duration of his life in the Catuś-ślokī-vyākhyā of my great-grand-father. He purports to quote from an old but lost biography of Appayya Dīkṣita, the following tag of a verse. (He did not know of Śivānanda's biography, for Śivānanda himself was a younger contemporary of him.)

विक्रमे भूतलं प्राप्य विजये स्वर्गमाययौ ॥

This specifies a duration from 1520 to 1593 and the same date for Appayya Dīkṣita happily accords with the conclusion above arrived at in the course of this paper from evidences purely historical and epigraphical.

TWO FORGOTTEN SANSKRIT DRAMAS

BY

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I

The Kṛtyārāvaṇa.

The Kṛtyārāvaṇa is one of the many plays that have dramatised the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. References to this drama are found in abundance in the Abhinavabhāratī, Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Bhāvaprakāśa, Sāhityadarpaṇa and Vakroktijīvita. These extracts, though silent on the name of the dramatist, yet equip us with materials sufficient to reconstruct the plot of the drama. There is also adequate evidence to fix its date with approximate accuracy. The materials gathered so far can be arranged as follows.

The extracts from the Kṛtyārāvaṇa are as follows :—

"विशेष्यपदमन्वेष्यम्, समुदाय एव विशेष्यः इति श्रीशङ्कुकः उदाहरति च **कृत्यारावणे** षष्ठेऽङ्के गर्भसन्धौ नेपथ्ये—

"हा अय्यउत्त परित्ताअहि"

प्रतीहारी—(श्रुत्वा आत्मगतम्) अहो भट्टिणी सिह अवखन्दति। (प्रकाशम्) भवदा अन्दे उरो महन्दो कलकलो सुणीअदि।

राजा—ज्ञायतां किमेतदिति।

अत्र रावणस्य आशङ्का प्रतीहार्याः त्रासभये

Vol. ii. P. 523—24. A. Bhāratī.

धन्यास्ते कृतिनः श्लाघ्यास्तेषाञ्च जन्मनो वृत्तिः।
यैरुज्झितात्मकार्यैस्तेषामर्थाः प्रसाध्यन्ते॥

Vol. ii. P. 501. A. Bhāratī.

यथा कृत्यारावणे—

प्रविश्य खड्गहस्तः सप्रहारः पुरुषः इत्यतःप्रभृति यावदसौ निष्क्रान्तः, वस्तूनां बहूनां उत्थापनं प्रसङ्गात् यतो निबन्धनम्, यत्र कार्ये तत्तथोक्तम्,

तत्रैवांशभेदातिष्ठयमाणायां मन्दोदर्यां भयम्, अङ्गदस्योत्साहम्, रावणं दृष्ट्वा "एतेनापि सुरा स्थिता" इत्यादि वदतो हासः, रावणस्यापि क्रोधः, "यस्तातेन निगृह्य बालक इव प्रक्षिप्य कक्षान्तरे" इति वदतोऽङ्गदस्य जुगुप्साहासविषयरसाः, "विध्वंसयन्नादयति" इत्यत्र रावणस्य शोकः, इत्येवं विद्रवाश्रयं यस्तूपस्थानं तद्विपरीतं तु तत्रैव द्वितीयेऽङ्के ।

"नेपथ्ये कलकलः" इत्यतःप्रभृति यावत्सीतां प्रति रावणस्योक्तिः "आलोकपालानां क्रन्दसि" इत्यादि भाविनो वस्तुनः समुत्थापनादपीदं तथोक्तं तत्रैव ऋषीणामुक्तिः "दुरात्मनेयं सीता स्वनाशाय ह्रियते" इति ।

Vol. iii. P. 13. A. Bhāratī.

यथा **कृत्यारावणे** गौतमीरूपच्छन्ना रामाक्रन्दितं लक्ष्मणे श्रावयितुकामा शूर्पणखा पूर्वमाह—

शूर्पणखा—अयि सुदते !

सीता—अये ! किं ततः ?

शूर्पणखा—(स्वगतं?) सा अवस्तुते सत्यं गौतमीमेव मामियं सीता जानात्विति ।

Vol. iii. P. 40. A. Bhāratī.

विशेषकं यथा **कृत्यारावणे**—"हा भ्रातर्लक्ष्मण ! परित्रायस्व मां परित्रायस्व" इति श्रुत्वा सीतावेषधारिणी शूर्पणखा समुपागता । तस्याञ्च मूढायाम्—

लक्ष्मणः—आर्ये ! समाश्वसिहि, समाश्वसिहि ।

शूर्पणखा—(अक्षीणि निमील्य सक्रोधं सभयञ्च) आ अणय्य अज्जवि तुमचिट्ठासि एव्व । अहो दाणीसितुमनिसं सो णिस्सिणेहो अचिट्ठदु दाव भादु असिणेहो कहंलः स्वीयकुलसम्भवेण महारवात्ति एण भविअ । एवं पवासिदंणं भण । अदि किं पुण अय्यउत्तो ?

लक्ष्मणः—आर्ये ! ननु त्वदर्थं एव आर्यपुत्रेण स्थापितोऽस्मि ।

शूर्पणखा—एणं मम अत्थो कदोहादि । एहञ्च अहं परिरब्धा होमिति ।

Vol. ii. P. 472. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

कृत्यारावणे विमानस्थो रावणः मदादाह—

अमराः समराभिमानमुत्सृज्य तिष्ठति रिपौ न हि मेऽस्ति वैरम् ।
स्वस्थोऽरुणव्रजविकृष्टखलीनपाशः प्रेष्येषु किं दशशिराः प्रहिणोति शस्त्रम् ॥

Vol ii. P. 487. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

अवपातनं यथा कृत्यारावणे षष्ठेऽङ्के-"प्रविश्य सखड्गहस्तः पुरुषः" इत्यतःप्रभृति निष्क्रामणपर्यन्तम्

P. 311. Sāhityadarpaṇa.

The bit quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī, "दुरात्मनेयं सीता स्वनाशाय ह्रियते", occurring in the second Act, is significant, since it throws some light on the plot of the opening act. If the grim prophecy about Rāvaṇa's destruction appears in the second Act, necessarily the first Act should have covered the story prior to the abduction of Sītā. Of course it is impossible to cover in a single act the story till Sītā's abduction; hence we may infer that like Śaktibhadra's "Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi" the drama perhaps began with the history of exiled Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā.

Many dramatists have materially altered the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The author of the Kṛtyārāvaṇa seems to have used this device. It is well known that Rāma, in compliance with the request of his beloved spouse, chases the golden deer, and that Mārīca, imitating Rāma's voice, utters in a plaintive cry, when his life is passing away, the name of Lakṣmaṇa. The dramatist seems to have modified the story of the Rāmāyaṇa here. Śūrpaṇakhā, after hearing this appeal for aid, is represented in the drama, as having disguised herself as Gautamī and hurried to Lakṣmaṇa to inform him of the "Rāmākrandana" or the piteous wail of Rāma. Śūrpaṇakhā artfully opens conversation with Sītā. Innocent Sītā mistakes her for Gautamī, and Lakṣmaṇa is lulled into the belief that Sītā is conversing with the venerable wife of Agastya.

What transpired next we do not know. Probably Śūrpaṇakhā, by her witchcraft, renders Sītā invisible to Lakṣmaṇa and takes the form of Sītā. Śūrpaṇakhā now pretends to be in a swoon, as a consequence of the unbearable distress of Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa unaware of the mysterious necromancy, solaces her. Śūrpaṇakhā imitates to perfection the tone of Sītā and commands Lakṣmaṇa, in stinging words that lacerate his heart, to go forth in aid of his brother. We see here a material deviation from the original source, the Rāmāyaṇa. A calm and dispassionate reading of the Rāmāyaṇa will convince any literary critic that the magnanimous, reasonable, sweet and serene Sītā, in this particular portion, has certainly lost her usual mental equipoise and balanced judgment.

The harsh words that she hurls like thunderbolts on the devoted head of dutiful Lakṣmaṇa hardly befit her sweet and compassionate soul. Really such a cannonade of words is becoming only a demon. The dramatist, with a critically imaginative eye, saw this weak point, and sought to remove it by making Śūrpaṇakhā responsible for such bombshells in the shape of words. This departure from the Rāmāyaṇa is really of arresting interest to a student of literature, and the drama shines with added lustre, through such an ingenious modification.

The rest of the plot can be easily imagined since the extracts are plain. The drama ends with the death of Rāvaṇa and the enthronement of Rāma.

The Kṛtyārāvaṇa seems to be a finished dramatic production. Śāradātanaya gives this as an example of सम्पूर्णनाटक.

पूर्णं चैव प्रशान्तं च भास्वरं ललितं तथा ।
समग्रमिति विज्ञेया नाटकाः पञ्च जातयः ॥
पूर्णस्य नाटकस्यास्य मुखाद्याः पञ्च सन्धयः ।
उदाहरणमेतस्य कृत्यारावणमुच्यते ॥

P. 245. Bhāvaprakāśa.

There are some extracts which furnish us with information about the prominent characteristics of the play; and they are these :—

वृत्तीनाञ्च विनियोगसमुच्चयविकल्पैः वृत्त्यङ्गानाञ्च बहवो रूपकभेदा भवन्ति । तेषां परं कोहलादिभिः नाममात्रं प्रणीतम् । मुद्राराक्षसस्य कैशिकीहीनस्य कृत्यारावणस्य च नाटकस्य दर्शनात् । वेणीसंहारे सात्वत्यारभटीमात्रं दृश्यत इति केचित् ।

Vol. ii. P. 444. A. Bhāratī.

अद्भुतं पुनरिदं यत्सारस्वतसंविधानकनिबन्धनलक्षण........साक्षरेण नाम्ना सुनिवेश्यते यथा अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल-मुद्राराक्षस-प्रतिमाऽनिरुद्ध-मायापुष्पक-कृत्यारावण-छलितराम-पुष्पदूषितकादीनि नामानि ।

P. 225. Vakroktijīvitam.

यथा एकस्यामेव दाशरथिकथायाम् रामाभ्युदय-उदात्तराघव-वीरचरित-बालरामायण-कृत्यारावण-मायापुष्पकप्रभृतयः । ते हि प्रबन्धप्रवराः कथामार्गेण

निरर्गलरसासारगर्भसन्दर्भसम्पदा प्रतिपदं, प्रतिवाक्यम्, प्रतिप्रकरणं च प्रकाशमानाभिनवभङ्गी........अतिरेकमनेकशो आस्वाद्यमाना अपि समुत्पादयन्ति सहृदयानाममन्दमानन्दम्।

P. 226. Vakroktijīvitam.

माया यथा—देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते चन्द्रगुप्तस्य कृतकोन्माद इति मानुषी माया। कृत्यारावणादिषु कनकमृगादिरचनात्मिका(त्) अमानुषी।

Vol. iii. P. 483. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

The " Kaiśikīvṛtti" is a vehicle for the portrayal of the erotic sentiment. Harsh sounds like the cerebrals should be avoided. Sweet melodious sounds should be harmoniously knit up. Since the kaiśikīvṛtti has been omitted, we are led to think that the drama may have a high-strung martial tone. In fact the verses that are found in the sixth Act of the play, where Aṅgada and Rāvaṇa thunder against each other in anger, constitute sufficient evidence as to the martial tone of the drama.

The title is significant. " Kṛtyā " means witchcraft; and since in this play witchcraft and Rāvaṇa play a prominent part, the drama appropriately goes by the name " Kṛtyārāvaṇa."

Kunṭaka includes the Kṛtyārāvaṇa among a few "Rāma-plays" that offer endless satisfaction and ineffable pleasure to a critical reader. If such a shrewd and discriminating critic as Kunṭaka is lost in admiration of this drama, it goes without saying that it should really be of an excellent type.

Now let us fix the date of the drama. We find from the Abhinavabhāratī that Śri Śaṅkuka quotes from the Kṛtyārāvaṇa in illustration of his statement.

"विशेष्यपदमन्वेष्यम् समुदाय एव विशेष्यः" ।

This extract leads us to infer that the drama in question is prior to Śaṅkuka. As far as we know, Śaṅkuka is the oldest writer to quote from the Kṛtyārāvaṇa; hence the date of Śaṅkuka forms one determinant of that of the Kṛtyārāvaṇa.

Śaṅkuka's date is known. The Rājataraṅgiṇī refers to him thus :—

अथ मम्मोत्पलकयोरुदभूद्दारुणो रणः ।
रुद्धप्रवाहा यत्रासीद्वितस्ता सभटैर्हतैः ॥
कविर्बुधमनःसिन्धुशशाङ्कः शङ्कुकाभिधः ।
यमुद्दिश्याकरोत्काव्यं भुवनाभ्युदयाभिधम् ॥

IV Taraṅga. Verses 704-705 Rājataraṅgiṇī.

The date of this bloody feud has been fixed as 840. A. D.; hence it follows that Śaṅkuka flourished in the same time.

No further evidence is found to fix the upper limit of the date of the Kṛtyārāvaṇa. All that we can now say is that it preceded Śaṅkuka, who lived about 840. A. D.

The Pārthavijaya.

The Pārthavijaya is a drama, the exploits of Arjuna forming its subject-matter. There is no mention of the author's name in the only two extracts we have in the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa; and perhaps he would have been tenanting the limbo of oblivion, but for the reference by Rājaśekhara. One of his appreciative couplets about poets and their productions, refers to Trilocana and his work the Pārthavijaya. The couplet runs thus :—

कर्तुं वि (त्रि) लोचनादन्यो न पार्थविजयं क्षमः ।
तदर्थश्शाक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथम् ॥

S. Muktāvalī, V. 33.

Through some scribal error the name Trilocana has been changed into "Vilocana." A reading of the verse will show the incongruity if we accept the reading "Vilocana." The poet wants to pun on the word "Trilocana." The meaning is—how can we two-eyed beings understand the meaning of the Pārthavijaya, the composition of (literally) the three-eyed. The delectation or चमत्कार is entirely lost, if the reading is "Vilocana."

There is perhaps also another idea enmeshed in this couplet. It shows that no other than the three-eyed Lord can defeat Arjuna in the field of battle. Perhaps the fight between Arjuna and Lord Śiva also forms a part of the plot of the drama.

Sufficient data there are to fix Trilocana's date with a fair degree of certainty. That Trilocana preceded Rājaśekhara can be easily inferred from the latter's appreciative couplet. This

then forms the lower limit of Trilocana's date. A reference to the Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara helps us a little more.

Two verses are ascribed to Trilocana under the chapter विशिष्टकविप्रशंसा, wherein Mayūra and Bāṇa are praised. The verses referred to run as follows—

हृदि लग्नेन बाणेन यन्मन्दोऽपि पदक्रमः ।
भवेत्कविकुरङ्गाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥
तावत्कविविहङ्गानां ध्वनिर्लोकेषु शस्यते ।
यावन्नो विशति श्रोत्रे मयूरमधुरध्वनिः ॥

त्रिलोचनस्यैतौ P. 30. V. 186-87. Ś. Paddhati.

Mayūra is, if we accept the traditional account, the father-in-law of Bāṇa; hence the date of Bāṇa forms the other determinant of Trilocana's date. Thus the period of Trilocana's literary activity is hedged in on either side with the dates of Bāṇa and Rājaśekhara. Trilocana should have flourished in the intervening period.

There is another way by which we can independently fix the date of Trilōcana. Vācaspatimiśra, in the प्रत्यक्षसूत्र of the न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका, refers to one Naiyāyika Trilocana as his teacher, thus—

"त्रिलोचनगुरून्नीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः" ।

It is a well-known fact that Vācaspatimiśra flourished in 841 A. D. So if the poet Trilocana should be identical with Vācaspati's teacher, he should be assigned to the first half of the ninth century.

The plot of the drama seems to be this. Envious Duryodhana, inflamed at the prosperity of the Pāṇḍavas at Indraprastha, tries to reduce them to grinding poverty by certain subterranean devices. He defeats them in the game of gambling, and the Pāṇḍavas, without protest, meekly go to the forest. Once Duryodhana, to parade his royal pomp and splendour before the Pāṇḍavas reduced to poverty, enters the forest. In the forest the Gandharvas molest him and Duryodhana has to fight with them to vindicate his power. In the battle he is not only defeated but also captured and tied to a pillar. Arjuna, who then

accidentally happens to pass by sees the ridiculous position of his kinsman. His manly courage swells up, and in the fight that ensues the Gandharvas are vanquished and Duryodhana liberated. The following is the conversation between Arjuna and Duryodhana, smarting under the cruel kindness of a declared foe :—

तत्र पुंसो ह्रीर्यथा---पार्थविजये गन्धर्वैः पराजित्य बद्धस्य अर्जुनविक्रममोचितस्य दुर्योधनस्य । तत्र हि—

अर्जुनः—

न चास्मिन्काले पाण्डवेनाहूत इति मनसि सम्भावनीयम्; यस्मादभिन्नमेव आर्ययुधिष्ठिरमहाराजमवगच्छामो विशेषतः अस्मिन् काले । पश्यतु महाराजः---

स्वैर्वैरैः कुरुपाण्डवान्तरकृतो यस्मिन्विशेषोऽस्ति नः
तस्मिंस्तत्किमसाधु....मित्यार्याविजानन्ति यत् ।
यत्रैकाभिजनान्वये त्वभिभवः क्षत्रस्य तस्मिन्पुनः
भ्रातृणां पुरतोऽभियोगसमये पञ्चोत्तरं नः शतम् ॥

दुर्योधनः—(सवैलक्ष्यम् आत्मगतम्) हृदय ! शिक्षयोत्तरम् । कथमिवैनमालपामि ।

भ्राताहमित्यसदृशं मम दुष्कृतैस्तै-
र्द्वैष्टा भवानिति तदत्र दशाविरुद्धम् ।
यदि ब्रवीमि वचनं लघु तत्तु तत्र
कामं भवेच्छरणमप्रतिपत्तिरेव ॥

Vol. ii. P. 483. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

Duryodhana does not feel grateful towards the Pāṇḍavas for this act of mercy. His hatred towards them grows inveterate. Arjuna in the meanwhile satisfies Lord Śiva by his terrible penance. Lord Śiva highly pleased bestows on him the infallible missile, Pāśupata. Time rolls on but yet Duryodhana remained un-yielding. Yudhiṣṭhira wants to avoid war and bloodshed. He sends Kṛṣṇa to act as an intermediary. Kṛṣṇa too tries to persuade Duryodhana with his sweet words to give the Pāṇḍavas five plots of land and thus avert a terrible war. The following is Kṛṣṇa's address to Duryodhana.

अथ सन्ध्यन्तराणि एकविंशतिः । तद्यथा–साम--भेद--दण्ड--प्रदान....
तत्र साम यथा--पार्थविजये भगवान्वासुदेवः दौत्येन गतः दुर्योधनमाह—

"क्षीरोदादमृतद्युतिः क्षितिभुजां वंशस्ततो भारतः

[सोऽयं] श्लाघ्यगुणश्च किञ्च बहुना यत्रोद्भवस्तादृशाम्" इत्यादि ।

Vol. ii. P. 480. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.

Duryodhana remains adamant. War breaks out with the result that the Pāṇḍavas win.

Thus these two significant extracts show the plot of the drama and as regards its date, as has been observed at the outset, it should have been written in the former part of the ninth century.

TANTRASIDDHĀNTADĪPIKĀ

BY

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.

MYLAPORE.

Some scholars [1] believe that the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā, a treatise on Pūrva mīmāṁsā, is a production of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the renowned grammarian of the 17th century. This belief is not without foundation. There is a tradition[2] in South India regarding the authorship of the above work. Appayya Dīkṣita, the great author of over hundred works dealing with various branches of learning, was living in a place near Chidambaram. When Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita came on a pilgrimage to the south, he had an opportunity to meet Appayya Dīkṣita and requested him to teach the Pūrva and the Uttara mīmāṁsā. This request was granted. On the eve of his departure, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita was instructed by his guru Appayya Dīkṣita to write treatises on Pūrva and Uttara mīmāṁsās. To fulfil the desire of his guru, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita wrote two works, one on Pūrva mīmāṁsā called Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā and the other on Uttara mīmāṁsā named Tattva Kaustubha. We fiind the following verse at the beginning of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā paying homage to Appayya Dīkṣita :—

अप्पय्यदीक्षितेन्द्रानशेषविद्यागुरूनहं वन्दे ।
यत्कृतिबोधाबोधौ विद्वदविद्वद्विभाजकोपाधी ॥

This tradition about the authorship of Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is not based on fact. A careful perusal of the work would show that it should not be fathered upon Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

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1. A. C. Burnell, Ph. D. A classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace at Tanjore, p. 85 A. VIII. G. Oppert. List of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries of South India. Vol. II. pp. 5385, 5621, 7381, 7875, 9463. Theoder Aufrecht. Catalogus Catalogorum. Vol. I. p. 223.

2. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri's Introduction in Sanskrit to the Śivalīlārṇavakāvya. Vani Vilas edition, pp. 5-7. (1911).

We find the author of the work in question referring[1] to his 'पितामहचरण' revered grandfather, and to his view about संस्कार-विधि. In two other places[2] he refers to the same view as दीक्षितमत. From the statement[3] made by the author at page 451, we are able to understand that the view above referred to as दीक्षितमत is contained in the Vidhirasāyana. दीक्षितमत in the Pūrva and Uttara mīmāṁsās at least, if not in other darśanas as well, is generally understood to be the view of Appayya Dīkṣita. All these facts put together warrant the conclusion that the दीक्षित referred to in the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is no other than the famous Appayya Dīkṣita who entertained the opinion[4] that the secondary signification of अपूर्वसाधनत्व need not be recognised in the case of saṁskāravidhi and that he is the grandfather of the author of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā.

Moreover the colophons,[5] in the work under consideration, uniformly read that the author is Appayya Dīkṣita grandson of Āccā Dīksita, brother of Appayya Dikṣita and is the son of Appayya Dīkṣita. According to Vīrarāghavakavi the author's real name seems to be Cinnappaya[6] and he is the 3rd son of Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita the first son of Āccā Dīkṣita and the adopted son of Appayya Dīkṣita, the second son of Āccā Dīkṣita.

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1. यत्त्वस्मत्पितामहचरणानां दर्शनं संस्कारवाक्यस्थव्रीह्यादिपदे लक्षणैव नास्ति । आनर्थक्यशङ्का त्वर्थलभ्यापूर्वीयत्वेनैवेति, यवसाधारण्यं तु धर्माणामपेक्षासामर्थ्यरूपाल्लिङ्गादिति । p. 451, MSS. of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā in the Adyar Library.

2. दीक्षितमतेनापूर्वीयलक्षणानङ्गीकारात् सम्मार्गस्य न चमसेषु प्रसक्तिरिति स्फुटतरमेव । *Ibid.* pp. 484-5.

दीक्षितमते भवदभिमतापूर्वीयलक्षणया सामानविध्ये प्राप्ते तदभावादसमानविधानमित्येव सिद्धान्त इति शुद्धः प्न्थाः । *Ibid.* p. 818.

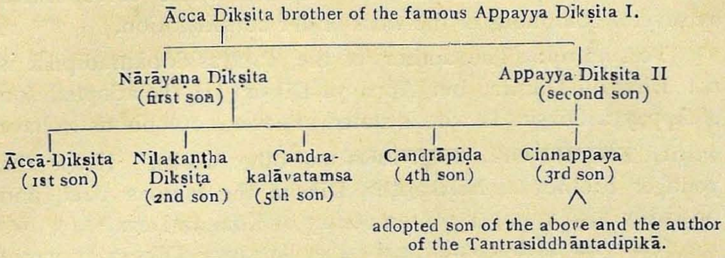
3. यद्वा प्रचीनसिद्धान्तप्राप्तापूर्वीयत्वावच्छेदे दोषत्वप्रसक्तौ विधिरसायनादिदर्शितरीत्यैव लक्षणं प्रतिक्षिप्य व्रीहित्वेनैव शेषत्वं: ...... *Ibid.* p. 451.

4. *Vide* pp. 148—167. Vidhirasāyana (Chowkhamba edition.) Benares.)

5. इति श्रीभरद्वाजजलधिकौस्तुभश्रीकण्ठमतप्रतिष्ठापनाचार्यचतुरधिकशतप्रबन्धनिर्माणधुरन्धरश्रीमदप्पय्यदीक्षितसोदर्यश्रीमदाच्चादीक्षितपौत्रेण अलङ्कारतिलकरुक्मिणीपरिणयाद्यनेकप्रबन्धनिर्मातुरप्पय्यदीक्षितस्य पुत्रेण दुरूहशिक्षाकृता भूमिदेवीनन्दनेन अप्पय्यदीक्षितेन विरचितायां...... ।

6. यो नारायणदीक्षितानुजवरा योऽप्पय्यनाम्नोऽभवद्दत्तोऽप्पा(य्या)मखिनोऽनुजः कविवरश्चिन्नप्पयाख्यः सुधीः (वीरराघवकृता आच्चान्दीक्षितवंशावली. verse 119.)

The following table shows that the author of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is the grandson of Appayya Dīkṣita I.



This identification happily fits in with the fact mentioned in the colophons of the MSS. of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā, that the author is **भूमिदेवीनन्दन** son of Bhūmidevī. Bhūmidevī is known to us as the mother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita from his own verse.[1]

One of the objects which the author had in view in writing the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā seems to be to criticise the views of Navya Mīmāṁsakas who criticised the views of Appayya Dīkṣita. One or two passages may be cited here by way of illustration.

नव्यास्तु, शास्त्राधीनेष्टसाधन[ता]ज्ञानजन्येच्छाविषयत्वं स्वयंप्रार्थितत्वं तदुद्देशेन विहितत्वं पुरुषार्थत्वं ज्योतिष्टोम-उद्भिदादि-साधारणं, स्वयम्प्रार्थितत्वभिन्नोद्देशेन विहितत्वं क्रत्वर्थत्वं इति । उद्देश्यविधेयत्वे चात्र स्वरूपसम्बन्धविशेषात्मके विवक्षिते ; न तु सत्यत्वा[साध्यत्वा]नुष्ठेयत्वात्मके । तेन नरकाभावोद्देशेन निवृत्तिविधानात् निषेधस्थले नाव्याप्तिरित्याहुः । तदुपेक्ष्यम् ।
(p. 922. MSS. of Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā, Adyar Library.)

प्रयोजनं तु नव्यैरुक्तं, पूर्वपक्षे वाजिनयागस्यार्थकर्मत्वेन समप्रधानतया आमिक्षायागाङ्गत्वाभावेन तद्विकृतिषु नातिदेशः, सिद्धान्ते तु आमिक्षानुनिष्पन्नद्रव्यप्रतिपत्तिरूपतद्यागत्वेन आमिक्षायागविकृतिषु अतिदेश इति तदुपेक्ष्यम् ।
Ibid. p. 963.

In these extracts, the author unmistakably presupposes Khaṇḍadeva's Bhāṭṭadīpikā. (*Vide* pp. 82 and 95 Vol. II Mysore edition of Bhāṭṭadīpikā.)

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1. तेषामहं द्वितीयोऽस्मि भूमिदेवीतनूभुवाम् । (गङ्गावतरणकाव्यं, कथावतारसर्गः verse 50.)

From the observation[1] made by the author in the Citrādhikaraṇa, it is clear that he has also written 'दुरूहशिक्षा'[2] a treatise on the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. This fact is also corroborated by several colophons of the work under consideration.

To sum up: The author of the Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā is not Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, but Appayya Dīkṣita III the adopted son of Appayya Dīkṣita II who is stated in several colophons to have written रुक्मिणीपरिणय, अलङ्कारतिलक and other works. He is the younger brother of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita the famous poet, and probably also younger contemporary of Khaṇḍa-Deva.[3]

That our author's adopted father Appayya Dīkṣita II wrote रुक्मिणीपरिणय can be inferred with certainty from the prologue to the Nalacaritranāṭaka of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.[4]

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1. एवं पृष्ठवाक्येऽपि । तत्र पक्षान्तरनिराकरणं दुरूहशिक्षायां द्रष्टव्यम् । (p. 108. MSS. of Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā, Adyar Library.)
The same work is referred to at page 824.

2. This work is intended to set at nought the views of navya-mīmāṁsakas who maintain the soundness of Kumārila's definitions of three kinds of injunctions and to reaffirm Appayya Dīkṣita's criticisms in the Vidhirasāyana. This दुरूहशिक्षा is different from another work of the same title, a copy of which is in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.

3. On page 449 of Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā there is a reference to a Nīlakaṇṭhakavi who is referred to as 'अस्मत्पुत्र' our son. If the famous Nīlakaṇṭha-Dīkṣita is meant there, it would be absurd on the part of the author to call him "our son." In Dīkṣita's family as known to us from Appayya Dīkṣita down to Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, there is nobody who could call Appayya Dīkṣita "our grandfather" and Nīlakaṇṭha-Dīkṣita "our son." So two alternative possibilities may be suggested here: Either पुत्र must be a scribl error for भ्रातृ, or some Nīlakaṇṭha Kavi other than the famous one is meant. Other writers and works mentioned by our author are :—केशव (pp. 271, 375 and 329), श्रीकण्ठीय (p. 404) केशवकोश (p. 259) मयूखावली (pp. 111 and 132), and तर्कताण्डव (p. 624).

4. सूत्रधारः—नवनिर्वर्त्तितं नलचरित्रं नाम नाटकम् । कविरपि तस्य जगद्विदित एव।
पारिपार्श्वकः—आः ! स रुक्मिणीपरिणयस्यापि प्रणेता ।
सूत्रधारः—(विहस्य) न हि न हि । अस्य खलु पितृव्योऽयमप्पयदीक्षितो नाम सरसकवितासाम्राज्यसार्वभौमस्तत्प्रणेता । अयं तु मुकुन्दविलासस्य काव्यस्य निबन्धा । Nalacaritranāṭaka, Balamanorama press edition, p. 3.)

NEW LIGHT ON DREAM-PSYCHOLOGY.*

BY

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(From Upaniṣadic Sources.)

In the course of my paper submitted to the Psychology section of the Fourteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore, I had endeavoured to criticise the Freudian hypothesis relating to the interpretation of dreams from the standpoint of Upaniṣadic psychology. I followed up the investigation and in my second paper on the subject contributed to the psychology section of the Science Congress held at Calcutta early this year, I examined the theory of dreams advanced by the late lamented Dr. Rivers, F.R.S., and discussed the significance of several Upaniṣadic passages dealing with the problem of dreams and their interpretation. In the present paper, I shall submit to a critical examination some of the recent theories of dreams and indicate that the Upaniṣadic hypothesis is by far saner, safer, and more systematic than most of the theories that have been put forward from time to time ever since the problem of dreams and their interpretation was handled in the West with a thorough grasp and a firm grip by Freud and others.

A PRELIMINARY DIFFICULTY.

It is impossible to overlook a preliminary difficulty that is bound to confront an investigator of the problem of dreams in the light of Upaniṣadic psychology. In the West, investigation of dream phenomena has been undertaken by medical men who are also fully and perfectly conversant with the theory of Psychology, its method, problems and general outlook. Psycho-analysis has come to stay in the West. How far the psycho-analyst has practically succeeded in effecting cures of mental abnormalities, it is not possible to dogmatise on, but the difficulty is that an investigation of a pre-eminently psychological problem

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* To be read at the Psychology section of the forthcoming session of the Science Congress, to be held at Madras in 1929.

by medical men and women often fails to render adequate justice to the psychological facts and implications. The value of psycho-therapy is great and undoubted. Psychiatry has definitely and indissolubly allied itself with psychology. Notwithstanding the gradual and even inevitable shading off into one another of the problems of the medical persons and psychologists at a certain stage, I mean a borderland-stage, of investigation, I think it is absolutely indispensable, in the interests of psychology proper and those of a methodological quest after pronouncedly psychological data and their interpretation, to investigate how much of a given mental abnormality can properly be attributed to purely psychical phenomena and how much to others—non-psychical ones, understanding the term in its widest meaning. A medical man studying dream-phenomena maintains that a particular dream is sure to produce a tonic-effect or a depressing reaction on an individual. But the fundamental problem for the psychologist is to ascertain all about the psychological structure and function of a given dream without allowing himself to be sidetracked into any medical discussions, diagnosis etc. Western theories of dreams suffer from this disability in a pointed manner. In formulating a theory of dreams, western psychologists ogle at Medicoes while the latter reciprocate. The disinterested interest in psychological inquiry untramelled by extra-psychological considerations suffers thereby. I am aware, some psychologists of late have questioned if at all such a disinterested outlook would advance psychological research. In any theory of dream-psychology, I think it obligatory on the part of the investigator to keep apart psychological, and other-psychological, like the medical, considerations. Freud, Adler, Jung and others in the West were expert medical men, and in the study of dreams and interpretation of abnormal conduct, Adler in particular advocated and defended the theory of organ-inferiority. I cite all this in support of the preliminary difficulty pointed out by me in keeping data, medical and psychological, separate and in not confusing the medical with the psychological interpretation.

A Critic of Upanisadic Theory.

Even though distinguished Orientalists have in the past directed their attention to a study of Sanskrit Literature dealing with prose, poetry, drama and philosophy in general and devoted their energies to chronological research in particular, no one has so far made a special study of the dream-problem and its solution

attempted by the Upaniṣadic seers, either in India or in the West. I sent an account of my investigations of the Upaniṣadic texts to Mr. John. T. MacCurdy, M. D. Hopkins. M. A., (Cantab) Lecturer in psychopathology in the Cambridge University. The following is the full text of the letter he was kind enough to write to me. " Many thanks for your letter of the 10th January and the enclosed report of your dream paper. The latter interests me greatly. I quite agree with you that the simple wish-fulfilment hypothesis or that of mere conflict is inadequate and that a more inclusive theory is needed. The Upaniṣadic view is satisfactory in its breadth but it seems to me to be of doubtful psychological utility because it is so negative. It claims merely lack of waking control in the productien of dreams. It is true that you say the unbridled creative unconscious is at work, but the combinations of the Vāsanās seem to be purely haphazard according to your view. So far as your formulations go there is nothing to account for the sense that many dreams do show or for the sense that others may reveal on analysis. It seems to me that although we may admit a relaxation of waking control—and are forced to do so—we cannot begin to understand dreams until we know something about the laws which govern the combination of images in the unconscious. That is the crux of the problem. Yours Truly—(Sd.) J. T. MacCurdy."

With the point of view of investigation suggested in the foregoing letter, I examined some typical and representative Upaniṣadic texts and the results are embodied in the succeeding paragraphs. Before I discuss the texts let me offer a few critical remarks on Mr. MacCurdy's own theory of dreams, a theory which affords a striking illustration of the difficulty, to which I made a reference, of keeping separate clinical and psychological data, difficulty, failure to overcome which has adversely affected MacCurdy's own theory of dreams.

Suppose the crux of the problem of dreams lies in the combination of the images of the Unconscious. What are the laws according to which they combine? Prof. MacCurdy has not himself formulated any law that would appear to him to determine, regulate, and govern .the combination of dream-imagery. Not merely that. His general theory of dreams described and defended in his work entitled " The Psychology of Emotion : Morbid and Normal" (Kegan Paul, 1925) can hardly be accepted as adequate to do justice to all facts and rationalised fancies of

dream-existence. I shall quote his typical explanation of the origin of dreams. "I am going to regard dreams as recurrent psychoses that expose from time to time processes of thought otherwise unconscious, that have been operating unseen before and that will continue to do so again". "I shall be treating dreams in the same way as we have the symptoms of manic-depressive insanity." "Emotions, neurotic symptoms, delusions, and dreams, are all products of thinking hidden from normal awareness." (P. 480.) Dreams even as neurotic symptoms are due to irruption into conscious life of something that is not consciously willed.

My contention is that a view like this is not psychologically more advanced than the Upaniṣadic one. Lines of thinking are hidden from normal awareness. True. But when and under what circumstances do these esoteric and buried lines of submerged thinking "irrupt" into the focus of consciousness. Are there any laws or observed uniformities that govern the "irruption?" If so what are they? Prof. MacCurdy who rightly complains that the crux of the dream-problem has not yet been properly grasped has not himself formulated the laws of combinations of dream-imagery. I have no desire to indulge in any cheap tit for tat! I miss formulation of the laws of the combination of the Unconscious images projected into the dream-structure in his work. Let that alone.

To put the question direct—why is Prof. MacCurdy so anxious to study dreams on the analogy drawn from manic-depressive insanity? Janet and others might have endeavoured to bring all emotions within the clutches of psychopathological processes. That is hardly sufficient justification why the analogy drawn from manic-depressive insanity should be the guiding factor in a psychological study or investigation of the dream-problem. I venture to suggest that a pre-eminently medical mentality is responsible for that attitude of Prof. MacCurdy and the methodological approach to the problem of dreams dictated and determined by that attitude. Why should it be assumed that while in the dream-state we are abnormal, only not so abnormal as a manic-depressive patient? Dreams, sleep dreamless, and waking states may all be regarded as sharing the same normality. MacCurdy appears to indicate a reciprocal relationship more or less. A study of dreams helps a better understanding of neurotic mentality while a study of the latter

helps a better understanding of the former. But the Upaniṣads never take the point that dreams are to be studied and interpreted in the light of or in the same way as symptoms in manic-depressive insanity. What is perhaps the most acute difficulty which I feel—and others are bound to feel it too—relates to the "why" of the irruption of the unconscious images into conscious thought. It may be contended in reply that the "why" of things can never be answered. Seeing however that such an irruption from the weird and outlandish realm of the Unconscious of images, thoughts, emotions, volitions into the focus of consciousness is the life-breath of MacCurdy's hypothesis, one is entitled to expect some light on the "why" and the "wherefore" of such an irruption.

II

Recent Theories in the West.

In a chapter on "Recent Theories of Dreams" H. L. Hollingworth, Ph. D., of the Columbia University has examined some theories of dreams (1926—Psychology of Thought, approached through studies of sleeping and dreaming.—D. Appleton.) He refers to the classical interpretation of Freud. I criticised the wish-fulfilment theory in my paper to the Science Congress of 1927. He refers also to the theory of Dr. Rivers which I examined last year in the light of the Upaniṣadic Psychology. To Horton a dream-process is a "trial perception" *i. e.* an attempted response to one or more cues either sensory or psychic—(Horton quoted by Hollingworth.) Hollingworth himself endeavours to explain dreams in reference to an all-inclusive doctrine of "red-integration" which according to him accounts for all life behaviour. What is red-integration ? A complex antecedent ABCD evokes a response XYZ. On a next occasion, the response XYZ total or partial can be evoked even by a fraction of ABCD, say A or B or C or D in virtue of the fraction having participated earlier in a totality. So is a dream. A fraction of a stimulus sets up responses resulting in combinations of dream-imagery, even though the earlier totality-antecedent might never be forthcoming.

I am sure MacCurdy will complain that this red-integration never gives the laws according to which dream-imagery would combine. There is no knowing which fraction of a given antecedent would evoke which response-fraction as the response

might be associated with a series of preparatory reactions as well. There is the rub. Even so, the hypothesis of "trial perceptions" is onesided and narrow. "Is the trial-perception" series one which is consciously undertaken by the subject in the interests of his successful waking life? That cannot be. The subject has no control over the organisation or succession of "trial perceptions". If on the other hand, we are bound to admit that the subject is willy-nilly obliged to submit to "trial perceptions" there is no meaning in their being christened "trial perceptions". How again is this "trial" compatible with the sense some dreams actually reveal and the sense which yet others are made to reveal on subsequent analysis or the sense which is practically squeezed out of dreams?

III

Some Significant Texts.

Let me now turn to an examination of some Upaniṣadic texts which reveal an undoubtedly psychological outlook and speculative insight into the significance of the problem of dream and its solution. In the course of my paper submitted to the previous year's Science Congress I had mentioned and extracted some of the relevant Upaniṣadic texts. I shall devote this section to a special and exclusive discussion of a very short yet profoundly significant Upaniṣad—the *Māṇḍūkya*. Everything in this Universe is Brahman. The finite self is Brahman. The finite self passes through or experiences four states. The waking state is first described. Secondly the Dream state. Thirdly the state of Dreamless sleep. Fourthly the state of one-ness of the Finite and the Infinite. The term used is *Pāda*. It does not mean a foot as in the case of the quadruped it does. It stands for a quarter, a fraction, a necessary state through which the subject passes. The waking state is described. The familiar sacrificial fire is personified. By means of seven limbs and nineteen mouths the Ātman-Fire consumes objects of external Reality. He is described as *STHŪLABHUK i. e.* consuming or eating up the gross, concrete, manifest external Reality. He is also *BAHIḤPRAJÑAḤ. i. e.* His awareness or consciousness is directed towards External Reality. It represents the analogue of extrovert existence in all waking consciousness.

The Dream-state is next described. The fire of the previous paragraph is transformed into smokeless brilliance, radiance or effulgence. Seven limbs and nineteen mouths are repeated. In

contrast to BAHIḤPRAJÑA, the term ANTAḤPRAJÑA is used. Instead of the previous STHŪLABHUK of the waking state, we come across PRAVIVIKTABHUK. New light will be shed on the Psychology of dreams if the terms used are carefully analysed in their connotations.

The Third is the state of dreamless sleep. A reference to the nineteen mouths is significantly missing. Nor is there any reference to the seven limbs. The variety, the multiplicity and complexity of waking life is all enveloped in total darkness as it were. The subject withdraws deep into himself. There is only one face. That is the subject having the face of CETAḤ, inherent spiritual light which is spoken of.

The Fourth is the state of final liberation which according to the Advaita Vedānta does not and cannot admit of any description by means of linguistic and conceptual medium and which can therefore be attempted to be described only in negative terms as not this—not that—and so forth.

IV

Metaphysical postulates and presuppositions have to be laid aside for purposes of a strictly psycholcgical investigation. The Brahman may be identical with Ātman as in Advaita or may not as in Dvaita. The starting point for all strictly psychological inquiry is the nervous system, the psychophysical organism—some spiritual or psychical entity encased or encaged within a nervous system. The first point emphasised by the Upaniṣads is that the subject is obliged to experience four states which are his birthright. The waking state supplies the material for dreams, at any rate some material of outstanding importance and pre-eminent significance. That is described at the outset. I do not believe it is a chance-coincidence that in the personification of the Subject as God of fire the terms *SAPTĀṄGA*—(seven limbs) and *Ekonaviṁśati-Mukha* (19 mouths) are repeated both in the description of the waking state and that of the dream-state. The analogue of the extrovert attitude in normal life readily forms part of the stock of everybody's waking life. An experiencing subject and an environment are indispensable. Life is a reaction between the subject and his environment. By means of nineteen faces external reality is eaten up by the Subject. What are the nineteen? 5-Intellectual sense organs, 5-activity-organs, 5-breaths; Manas, Buddhi, Ahaṅkāra, and Citta (4)

together form the nineteen mouths. The sense stimulii impigning on the oragnism from external reality are to be interpreted, red-integrated, and their synthesis effected. Sense-manifold has to be synthesised and brought under the categories of the understanding. The four last named stand for the different aspects of the subject's synthesising activity. Life can be a successful adjustment only when the meaning and significance of stimulii from external reality are adequately and fully realised.

V.

It is significant that in the description of the dream-state, the terms SAPTĀṄGA and EKONAVIṀŚATIMUKHA are repeated. The contrast between the waking and dream-states is embodied in the terms ANTAḤPRAJÑA, PRAVIVIKTABHUK, and TAIJASA. Extrovert and introvert will not be quite accurate or adequate. In waking state the pre-eminent and prominent interest attaches itself to adjustment to external Reality—an environment, physical, social *et hoc*. In the dream-state on the other hand the interest is withdrawn from external Reality and concentrated on the world of images, on the internal. That is not a deliberate or voluntary transfer of interest. That is inevitable in the nature of things.

Our waking life is the source of experience. Our stock has to be replenished from the waking state. A world, an environment is indispensable. Apparatus for the reception and co-ordination of stimulii is essential. Categories of the understanding are inevitable, to synthesis the sense-manifold and assign it meaning, and appreciate values. The nineteen faces figuratively indicate the sense-channels for reception and co-ordination of stimulii and the categories or the mental factors of synthesis. What do the seven limbs signify? Chāndogya-passage in 5th Adhyāya, 18th Khaṇḍa makes mention of nearly a dozen limbs of the fire-God. Why should the limbs be restricted to 7 in the present context?

It seems to me that the seven limbs are intended indirectly to suggest the 5-Cosmic elements Earth, Water, Fire, Air, Ākāśa (perhaps in the sense of empty-space or Ether if that speculation be permitted), Time and Space *qua* entering into the constitution of the human experience. The cosmic elements do find their replica in the nervous system. The elements

constitute the environment in which the subject lives, moves and has his being, in short external Reality.

VI.

The subject is BAHIḤPRAJÑA. His awareness or consciousness is directed to external reality. That is in waking state. In him is ANTAḤPRAÑJA. His awareness or consciousness is directed inwards. In the waking state he is STHŪLA-BHUK *i.e.* taking in or assimilating the gross, manifest External Reality. In the dream-state he takes in or enjoys or assimilates the PRAVIVIKTA, the subtle, the unmanifest internal reality of imagery and image-world. Contact with external reality is amplifying and augmenting experience every moment of our existence. The contact is to be cut or switched off at the onset of sleep.

Fatigue is the law of musculature or muscular energisation. This was realised by the Upaniṣads. The passage Bṛhadāraṇyaka, 1—5—21 definitely states that sense organs become fatigued. " Śrāmyatyeva Vāk, Śrāmyati cakṣuḥ " etc. Voice is fatigued. Eye is fatigued. Ear gets fatigued. Profound, deep sleep is inevitable. Repair, rehabilitation, and rejuvination or reconstruction of the fatigued nervous tissues is going on in sleep. Only the sense organs are fatigued. Mind is not; Comparatively. Vital functions continue intact. The respiratory, circulatory and the gastric functions are yet on even in sleep. They constitute sufficient and adequate stimulii for dreams.

Central initiation or excitation of dream-imagery can be due to the physiological functions themselves. Or a psychical stimulii-set is indicated. Escape is sought from the hard, stubborn realities of life. Dissatisfaction with the values of waking existence is the psychical stimulus-set for the creation and projection of dream-imagery. " Svapno-bhūtvā...atikrāmati mṛtyo rūpāṇi." 4—3—7 is a significant text. Śaṅkara and Madhva might interpret the passage to suit their own respective metaphysical exegetics. To a psychological quest the metaphyisical implications and commitments are hardly relevant. Escape from the hard and fatiguing realities of waking life is sought in Sleep and Dreams. In the latter the escape is not so profound or satisfactory. In the former it is.

The fatigue is physical as well as mental. Mental fatigue results from maladjustment, or inability to secure adjustment,

over-estimation or under-estimation of our abilities and capacities to tide over a difficulty or effect an adjustment. The physical fatigue occurs quicker. Mental fatigue not so quicker. When the affairs small and big of the waking state have not yet been settled, when accounts have not been properly settled, physical fatigue becomes overwhelming and there is the onset of sleep resulting in the switching off of contact with external reality on account of the *Śrama*, fatigue of the sensory channels of communication.

VII.

But other physiological systems are active. They in concert with the residuum of maladjustment carried over and brought forward as it were from the waking into the sleep state, a maladjustment that is pre-eminently mental, or a state of suspense or indecision brought about by lack of adjustment would be sufficient to account for the creation of dreams. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka sketches with remarkable psychological insight and analytical acumen the following transition. 1. Samprasāda and Svapnānta are terms used to denote the dreamless-sleep state. From Samprasāda a transition occurs to Svapna, *i. e.* dream-state. 2. From Svapna there occurs a transition to Buddhānta or the waking state. 3. From Buddhānta once more there occurs a transition to Svapnānta, dreamless sleep.

There is a very important point to note that the transition is inevitable. No voluntary inhibition can be exercised to stop the transition. A reciprocal transition from sleep into dreams and from dreams into sleep is also indicated before the break of sleep and dreams by the transition into the Buddhānta. Escape is sought from the fatiguing realities of life. There is some escape, some freedom from the troubles, worries, tribulations and turmoils of waking life. There is a more profound and safer escape in the state of sleep. It is pertinent to inquire why the transition is not confined to profound sleep stage alone. The term Antaḥ-Prajña would explain it. The subject's activities are turned inwards. Fatigue of the sense organs does not mean fatigue of the mind. The subject's mental activity inturned, acting in concert with the fatigue creates and projects the dream-imagery.

VIII.

1—The Praśnopaniṣad as I have explained in a previous paper maintains that in Dreams the subject experiences his

Mahimā (on which term I am prepared to stake my all,) the creative activity or majesty or greatness.

2—Bṛhadāraṇyaka propounds the theory that escape from fatigue is sought, and sketches the transition from sleep to dream, from dream to sleep, and from both to the waking life or state.

3—The Chāndogya (8—19.) contains the Mahimā-theory of the Praśna-upaniṣad. "Mahīyamānaścarati" says the Chāndogya text.

4—Half-a-dozen other Upaniṣadic texts referred to by me in a previous paper account for the dreams as being due to the creative activity of the mind on the raw-material supplied by the "Vāsanās," Images of the Unconscious and sub-conscious realm.

What then is our conclusion? Dreams and dream experiences are to be regarded as governed by a law of compensation. Compensation for what? For the lack of proper adjustment of the subject to the circumstances and conditions of waking existence. Dreams being on their own revenges even as the whirligig of time. Somehow, not in the Bradleyan sense, the subject lacks in the matter of endowment, equipment, energy, environment and exercise of his volitions. Why should there be such a lack in any given individual and why should individuals themselves differ in congenital endowment and equipment; and subsequent environments and opportunities would be a problem for metaphysicians to wrangle over. For purposes of a strictly psychological investigation, it is sufficient to note that there is such a lack, a maladjustment and difference among individuals. "Am I my brother's keeper?" one might ask. Others are bound to have similar quests and queries, similar doubts and difficulties. These are not conflicts in the sense of the term adopted by Dr. Rivers.

Each individual has his own small Utopia where he hopes to be monarch of all he surveys. It may be a social Utopia. May be a political one. May be in fact anything. The concretisation of the Utopia may not be possible in the nature of things, or may not commend itself to a particular state of society in which the lot of the individual might be chanced to have been thrown. Round men are put in square holes. They have to get on. Others rebel against their destiny in vain. Is there

no compensation for all this ? Do we not witness phenomena in concrete experience that appear to be the very negation of accepted principles, standards and values of morality ? A perfectly contented resignation to the course of waking existence is not possible if desirable and not desirable if possible. Some compensation is necessary. The spiritual value and importance of an individual however obscure and humble he might be cannot be inferior to that of one however exalted he might be. Waking existence does little or no justice to the fundamental equality of the individuals which is being loudly claimed and proclaimed but neither recognised nor achieved. The poor man has his compensation in dreams when he imagines to be rich, if you please. I am not prepared to admit that the poor man has a suppressed wish to get rich or enjoy riches and that this suppressed wish is gratified in dreams. There may be no such wish at all esoteric or exoteric, suppressed or expressed. His Mahimā, in the language of the Praśnopaniṣad, he has a right to experience or enjoy and he does it.

Apart from compensation, Dreams bring on their own revenges! The self-complacence, the insolence, and the arrogance with which individuals look upon their fellowmen reappear in dreams where the tables are turned. The biter of the waking existence is bit in the dream state. Faint hearts might draw a lesson if they like that dreams are premonitory.

IX—*Conclusion.*

I shall sum up the leading conclusions so far indicated. 1. Dreams are Nature's own arrangement for affording the subject some escape from the hard, and stubborn and fatiguing realities of waking life. This escape can hardly be summed up under Freud's wish-fulfilment hypothesis or the Conflict-solution theory of Dr. Rivers or the "Trial-perception" or even the "Red-integration" hypothesis noted above. 2. The onset of fatigue and sleep when the problems big and small of waking life have not been settled or could not be settled is responsible for their reappearance in dreams. Our errors in our dealing with the environment cause dreams. 3. Mind's creative activity acting on the raw material of the Vāsanās—the storehouse of the Unconscious—would account for the bizarre and outlandish elaboration of forms of dream-imagery.

Sense there is in some dreams. Out of some others sense is squeezed or extracted after analysis. The latter is of doubtful value. I do not believe the sense *prima facie* discernable or squeezed out is of any help in the settlement of the affairs of waking life. I am aware of the contention that the sense is made use of to rid mental abnormalities and maladies. But as I said at the outset clinical data should be kept separate from the psychological.

The Upaniṣadic texts quoted above consider that the transition from one state to another is a matter of course and inevitable. That at any rate is the view of the Māṇḍūkya text. What is a matter of course and inevitable, need not be studied on the analogy of the manic-depressive insanity. I cannot help regarding that the otherwise brilliant treatment of the dream-problem by Prof. MacCurdy is vitiated by an un-methodological mixture of the clinical with psychological material. To the question—What are the laws according to which the images of the Unconscious—the Vāsanās—combine ? I venture to render a provisional answer that in the light of the Māṇḍūkya text which regards transition from waking to sleep, to dream and back to waking as a matter of course, the laws of association of ideas and images that account for the part played by them in the constitution and direction of waking like, would themselves explain the dream-phenomena as well *Mutatis Mutandis.* You may christen the laws of combination, "Association Laws", "Red-integration Laws" or by any other equally catching name. One thing is certain. If the succession of dream-imagery reveals any sence we need not mind it. If it does not reveal any, we need evince no undue anxiety to squeeze sense out of it.

The Upaniṣadic conclusion indicates a step in advance. Waking, sleep, and Dream states are all to be transcended and there is a fourth wherein only the Subject can experience unalloyed bliss undisturbed and uninterruptedly. Escape from the hard realities afforded by dreams and sleep is temporary and transient. The inevitable lapse into waking life more poignantly brings home to the subject the tyranny of life and its problems.

The waking life is the crux. Its little problems have to be solved immediately and the situation rounded off. Efficient adjustment is not wholly within the voluntary control of the individual. Maladjustment is inevitable. Think no more of it.

Embark on a fresh career, a new quest and original adventure. Always take care not to carry any residuum into your heads of the concerns of waking life and project them into dreams! It is a large order. That is the only effective way of escaping from dreams pleasant and unplesant. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Utter a prayer, if you please and close the wearied eyelids with the conviction that a day is over, a day which should be one of service, sacrifice and a sane adjustment. There is a high probability one who begins sleep with that mentality would not be troubled with any dreams at all. Dreams pleasant and unpleasant are unnecessary. At the time of the "indriyoparama" cutting off of the contact of sense organs with external reality, the vital bodily functions and disgruntled and brooding mentality would appear to be the only stimulii to dreams. If the latter are eradicated the former would be rendered impotent to project dream-imagery.

In the eternal clash of cultures, vagaries of values, shifting of standards, incompatibility between anticipation and achievement due to a wrong calculation, the individual should realise his own capabilities and limitations first. Non-realisation leads to maladjustment. The individual is left to brood over retrospectivly the irretrievable past. Prospective anxiety for the future is there too. They are the mental stimulii for dreams. They cannot be brought under Freudian suppressed-wish or any other equally narrow category. It is gratuitous to assume that all individuals have suppressed wishes. Similarly it is gratuitous to assume that conflicts of the waking life would be solved in dreams as indeed does Dr. Rivers.

But it is a bare statement of fact when the Upaniṣadic text suggests that the subject wants *SAMPRASĀDA* the calm composed happiness of escape from the realities, tyrannies, turmoils and contradictions of waking existence. There is a difference of degrees in the Samprasāda. Sleep gives the best escape from waking life. To a less extent do dreams. Here are the Upaniṣadic catchwords. 1. Svapnobhūtvā atikrāmati mṛtyo rūpāṇi. The subject in sleep and dreams escapes from the unpleasant realities of waking existence. 2. Mahimānam anubhavati, Mahīyamānaścarati, etc. The subject is the recipient of Nature's compensation in the shape of dreams for certain handicaps and disabilities from which he suffers and from which no escape in waking life is possible and on account of which he

has to gibbet himself as the laughing stock to the mischievously-minded of his followmen. Along with compensation dreams bring to others their own revenges. 3. The most important contribution made by the Upaniṣadic seers is that waking life, dreams, sleep; the three are to be transcended and there is a fourth-state in which alone the subject enjoys perfect bliss. A well-regulated and disciplined waking life with a complete realisation of its potentialities and limitations would hardly engender any dream. The Subject can boldly face Nature and Say— Look here, I want none of your compensations, none of the dream revenges. I have realised my capabilities and limitations. My record is clean." Why should there be limitations, difference between individuals in equipment, endowment, and environmental facilities and why should grumbling due to them engender dreams is as good a question as why should there be evil and imperfection in this, the best of all possible worlds? The student of dream psychology need not worry over it. Life in conformity with the ideals of Vairāgya—of unattachment—would reduce to a negligible minimum the dream-originating factors.

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॥ श्रीः ॥

मुरारिमिश्रः त्रिपादीनीतिनयनं च ॥

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'मुरारेस्तृतीयः पन्थाः' अस्य लोकप्रवादस्य मूलं याथात्म्यं प्रति च ममैवमासीन्मनसि पुरा—

समानं कार्यमुद्दिश्य प्रवृत्तयोर्द्वयोर्विभिन्नमार्गेण कार्यं साधितवतोरन्यः कश्चित्तृतीयस्तदेव कार्यं तदुभयविलक्षणेन नव्येन मार्गेण साधयेत्, स च साधको मुरारिनामकश्च स्यात्, तदा तदवलम्बनः सम्भाव्येतायं लोकप्रवादः। सत्यपि प्रतिकवि विशेषे सामान्यतः कालिदासभवभूतिमार्गयोर्विभिन्नरूपयोरन्तर्भावमर्हन्ति भारतीयकवीनां मार्गाः; तन्मार्गाभ्यां विलक्षणेन काव्यमार्गेण अनर्घराघव-नाटकं प्रणीतवान् कविर्मुरारिनामधेयश्च सुप्रसिद्धः। अतस्तं मुरारिकविं तद्रीतिं चैवावलम्ब्यात्मलाभमलभतायं प्रवाद इति।

यद्यप्यस्मिन् सिद्धान्ते बहवोऽनुपपत्तयः प्रादुरभूवन्मे मनसि, तथापि ता नैनं सिद्धान्तमुन्मूलयितुं पर्याप्तमधिष्ठानमलभन्त।

कियतश्चन कालात्पूर्वं श्रीमता मानवल्लि रामकृष्णकवि, यम्. ए., इत्यनेन मम सुहृदा मह्यमर्पितः त्रिपादीनीतिनयनाख्यो मुरारिमिश्रप्रणीतो ग्रन्थः पूर्वसिद्धान्तं पूर्वपक्षमकरोत्।

उपलब्धोऽयं ग्रन्थः प्रकृष्टैर्लेखकप्रमादैर्ग्रन्थपातैश्च यद्यपि निरन्तरः, तथापि प्रतिपाद्यस्वरूपमपि सर्वथा प्रकाशयितुमसमर्थो नैव। अतस्तद्ग्रन्थपरि-शीलनप्रयासान्मयोपलब्धमिह निवेद्यते। तत्र पूर्वतन्त्रे प्रसिद्धात् भाट्टात् प्राभाकराच्च प्रस्थानाद्विभिन्नं प्रस्थानमाद्रियते नीतिनयनमिश्रयमंशः समग्रतद्ग्रन्थपरिशीलनेनैव सुप्रदर्श इति विशेष एव प्रदर्श्यते दिङ्मात्रम्।

1. ज्ञानं स्वप्रकाशं न--इति मुरारिमिश्रो मन्यते—

"प्राशस्त्योपस्थितिरेव स्तुतेरप्युपस्थितिः, स्वप्रकाशत्वाज्ज्ञानस्येति चेन्न; तथाप्यर्थप्रवणतां हित्वा स्वप्रवणताकल्पने गौरवापत्तेः"

(नीतिनयनम्—अर्थवादाधिकरणम्)

2. नीतिनयनकर्ता नयविवेकप्रणेतारं भवनाथमिश्रमर्थतोऽनूद्य प्रत्याचष्टे---

"राद्धान्तस्तु—व्युत्पत्त्यार्थपरत्वं मन्त्राणामविशिष्टम्। न तत्तदर्थशास्त्राद्विबाध्यम्। अनुवादकं तदर्थशास्त्रमस्तु "य एवं विद्वान् पौर्णमासीं यजते' इत्यादिवत्। अनुवादे पृथक् प्रमाणता नास्ति; कार्यार्थत्वं त्वस्त्येव।

ननु तदर्थशास्त्रं पूर्वम्, पश्चाद्वादोऽनुवादो मन्त्राणामेवास्तु। तन्न; सति हि वचने मन्त्र उदास्त एव। न तर्हि मन्त्रतः प्राप्तानुवादः। उक्तं च पञ्चिकायाम् "मन्त्रलिङ्गापेक्ष एव तदर्थशास्त्राद्विनियोगः, अतो लैङ्गिक एव पूर्वम्" इति।

अयं भावः—तदर्थशास्त्रैः शेषशेषितामात्रार्पणम्; किञ्चित्करता तु मन्त्रशक्तिनिरूपणात्; तन्निरूपणे च किञ्चित्कार्यात्मा शेष्यपि लब्ध एवेति स्वतो हेतुसाकल्याद्विनियोगधीरग्रे जाता, तस्यां दशायां तदर्थशास्त्रमनुवादः। ऐन्द्र्यां तु वचनादेव किञ्चित्कार्यं गार्हपत्यं लब्धम्; किञ्चित्करता चाभिधानमिति स्वत एव हेतुसाकल्याद्विनियोगधीः। अतो न मन्त्रलिङ्गापेक्षा प्रत्युत मन्त्रलिङ्गं वाचनिकानुसारादन्यथा। यद्यपि "धान्यमसि"--इत्यत्र वचनान्न किञ्चित्करता, तथापि मन्त्रलिङ्गादपि न सा; लिङ्गाद्धि धान्यस्य किञ्चित्कार्यतापत्तिः, न तण्डुलस्य। अतो वचनं किञ्चित्करतापेक्षमन्त्रलिङ्गं तिरस्कृत्य वाक्यरूपतयाभिधानं दृष्टमाश्रित्य विनियोजकम्। इह (उरुप्रथस्व) तु विनियोज्यविशेषलिङ्गोपस्थापितकिञ्चित्करताविशेषो न तिरस्कारमर्हतीति दिक्।"

(नयविवेकः—मन्त्राधिकरणम्)

"अत्र विवेकः–लिङ्गमेवात्र शीघ्रभावि, त्रयाणामेव शेषशेषिकिञ्चित्क्रियाणामुपस्थापकत्वात्। श्रुतौ शेषशेषिणोर्द्वयोरुपस्थितिः, न किञ्चित्क्रियायाः; अतस्तदर्थं लिङ्गापेक्षा; ततो दुर्बलत्वमेव। न चैवमन्यार्थशास्त्रेऽपि श्रुतेर्दुर्बलत्वमेव स्यादिति वाच्यम्; तत्र "ऐन्द्र्या गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते"—इत्यात्मनेपदबलात् किञ्चित्क्रियाया अभिधानरूपाया उपस्थितेः। यद्यपि "धान्यमसि—इति दृषदि तण्डुलानधिवपति"—इत्यन्यार्थशास्त्रे किञ्चित्क्रियोपस्थानं नास्ति, तथापि न

लिङ्गादपि, तण्डुलप्रकाशनाशक्तेः । अतः स्वयं किञ्चित्क्रियामुपस्थाप्यैव निरपेक्षा श्रुतिर्विनियोजिका इति । तदयुक्तम् ।"

(नीतिनयनम्—मन्त्राधिकरणम्)

3. तर्कसङ्ग्रहदीपिकाप्रकाशिकादौ स्मृतो मुरारिमिश्रः प्रकृतग्रन्थकर्तैवेति । तत्त्वचिन्तामणिकारादिभिः स्मृतोऽप्ययमेवेति च सम्भाव्यते —

(a) "तदप्रामाण्येत्यादि । तदप्रामाण्यग्राहिका यावती ज्ञानग्राहिका सामग्री तज्जन्यग्रहविषयो न वेत्यर्थः । तादृशग्रहो गुरुनये व्यवसायः, मुरारिमिश्रमतेऽनुव्यवसायः, भाट्टमते च ज्ञाततालिङ्गकानुमितिः ।.................... मिश्रमते तु "अयं घटः" इत्याकारकज्ञानानन्तरं "घटत्वेन घटमहं जानामि"—इति ज्ञानविषयकलौकिकमानसमुत्पद्यते ; तेन प्रमाण्यग्रहणम् ।"

(नीलकण्ठप्रकाशिका—प्रामाण्यवादः)

"स्वतस्त्वमिति । स्वतस्त्वं मीमांसकैरुच्यते, परतस्त्वं नैयायिकैरिति मन्तव्यम् । अत्र गुरुमिश्रभट्टा मीमांसकास्त्रयः । तत्र गुरुनये........ । मिश्रमते तु अनुव्यवसायग्राह्यो व्यवसायः, अनुव्यवसायश्च व्यवसायप्रत्यक्षम् ; तज्जनिका सामग्री मनःसंयुक्तसमवायादिघटिता ; तद्ग्राह्यमेव व्यवसायनिष्ठं प्रामाण्यमिति मिश्राः ।"

(रामरुद्रभट्टीयम्—प्रामाण्यवादः)

(b) "ज्ञानस्य मानसत्वे च प्रामाण्यज्ञानवत् तत्सामग्र्यपि संशयप्रतिबन्धिका, तन्निश्चायकत्वात् ।"

(मणिः—प्रामाण्यवादः)

"मिश्रमते दोषमाह—ज्ञानस्य मानसत्वे चेति । ज्ञानस्य लौकिकमानसप्रत्यक्षत्वमते चेत्यर्थः ।"

(रहस्यम्—प्रामाण्यवादः)

"परप्रकाशे लिङ्गेन मनसा वा जायमानं ज्ञानं न भ्रमव्यावृत्तं प्रमाण्यं गृह्णीयात्, व्यभिचारात् ।"

(मणिः—प्रामाण्यवादः)

"गुरुमतं दूषयित्वा भट्टमिश्रमतं दूषयति—परप्रकाश इति । परप्रकाश-मते—भट्टमिश्रमत इति यावत् । ....लिङ्गेनेत्यादौ जन्यत्वं तृतीयार्थः ।"
(रहस्यम्—प्रामाण्यवादः)

अत्र मणौ मानसभास्यं विज्ञानमनुवदन् गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः प्रकृतमुरारिमेव स्मरतीति सम्भाव्यते । तदनुगुणमेव च मथुरानाथस्तन्मताभिमानिनं मिश्रपदेन व्यपदिश्य व्याख्याति । प्राभाकरभाट्टमतसन्दष्टं च मतमेतन्मीमांसकस्यैव भवितुमर्हतीति न्यायविदां पन्थाः । "अत्र गुरुमिश्रभट्टा मीमांसकास्त्रयः"—इति रामरुद्रभट्टोऽपि स्पष्टमेव तं मीमांसकं प्रकटयति ।

एवं चार्थात् मुरारिमिश्रो भवनाथादर्वाचीनः मणिकारात् प्राचीन इति च सम्भाव्यते ।

4. त्रिपादीनीतिनयनम्—इति नामैवास्य तर्कपादातिरिक्तप्रथमाध्यायार्थ-प्रतिपादकस्य ग्रन्थस्य सम्पूर्णतां वदति ।

5. ग्रन्थसम्पूर्तौ मुरारिमिश्राणामेवेयं कृतिर्नीतिनयनमित्यत्र च ग्रन्थ-वाक्यमपि प्रमाणमस्ति । यथा—"इति मुरारिमिश्रकृतिर्नीतिनयनं समाप्तम्" इति ।

इदमप्यत्रावश्यवक्तव्यं प्रतिभाति अङ्गत्वनिरुक्तिकर्तापि मुरारिमिश्रः कश्चिदस्ति । स च नामीमांसकः ; परं तु स भट्टमतानुसारिणमात्मानं प्रति-ज्ञायैवाङ्गत्वनिरुक्तिं प्रणयन् अर्वाचीनखण्डदेवं शब्दतोऽर्थतश्चानुसरतीत्येनं च तं चैकं मा मन्यन्तां भवन्तः । **प्रभाकरविजय**भूमिकायां "अङ्गत्वनिरुक्तिकर्ता तृतीयमार्गानुसारी मुरारिमिश्रः, स च ग्रन्थः **प्रभाकरविजय**सम्पादकत्वेन निर्दिष्टस्य मम दृष्टिपथमायातः" इति महामहोपाध्यायैरुक्तं तु तेषां बहुकार्य-वैयाकुल्या समापतितमिति ओम् ।*

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*मुरारिमिश्रमतं तत्त्वचिन्तामणिधृतं प्रदर्श्य विलुलितनयविवेकांशमनाकुलं प्रतिग्राह्य च मामनुगृह्णन्तः श्रीमन्तो महामहोपाध्यायादिबिरुदाङ्किताः **कुप्पुस्वामि-शास्त्रिणः** सभक्तिबहुमानं स्मर्यन्ते ।

॥ त्रिपादीनीतिनयनम् ॥

॥ मुरारिमिश्रप्रणीतम् ॥

अर्थवादाधिकरणम्[1]

"आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानां तस्मादनित्यमुच्यते ॥" १-२-१.

उक्तं कार्यमर्थं प्रतिपादयतो वेदस्य प्रामाण्यम् । न चार्थवादानां कार्यार्थता, विधिना सहैकवाक्यत्वे प्रमाणाभावात् । तस्मादप्रामाण्यम् इति परेषां पूर्वपक्षः ।

ननु तेषां सिद्धेऽपि व्युत्पत्तेः कथं कार्यार्थत्वमेव ? तत्ताध्ययनविधिबलात् ; सिद्धस्यार्थस्य निष्प्रयोजनत्वादिति केचित् । तदयुक्तम् , तथा सति तद्बलादेवैकवाक्यत्वप्रसङ्गात् । तस्माद्धर्मे प्रामाण्यं सिद्धार्थतया न संभवति ; तच्चिन्तनीयमित्यभिप्रायः ।

कथमैकवाक्यताविरहः ? कार्यस्य कार्येणैवान्वयात् , अर्थवादार्थस्य च सिद्धत्वात् । कथं तर्हि नियोज्यान्वयः ? नियोज्यस्याकार्यत्वात् । तत्र निरूढे नियोगे न सिद्धार्थान्वयः ; नियोज्यान्वयस्त्वनिरूढे एवार्थे इति केचित् , तन्न ; निर्युक्तिकत्वात् । तथाप्यर्थवादानामनिरूढे एवान्वयोऽस्त्विति चोद्यानिवृत्तेः । अनिर्वाहकत्वादनिरूढिदशायां नान्वय इति चेत् ; एवं तर्हि सिद्धत्वं न हेतुः स्यात् । तथापि निरूढिदशायामनन्वये सिद्धत्वं हेतुरिति चेत् , न; कालादेरप्यन्वयदर्शनात् । तेषामपि क्रियान्वयेन साध्यतेति चेत् , न ; अन्योन्याश्रयापत्तेः क्रियान्वये साध्यता, साध्यत्वे च क्रियान्वयः इति । तस्मादेवं वाच्यम् । कृत्यनुरञ्जनयोग्यं कार्यमत्राभिप्रेतम् । तच्च द्वयम् नियोज्यकोटिर्विषयकोटिश्चेति । कोटिद्वयबहिर्भूतं सिद्धमभिप्रेतम् । न चातीतस्य च ओदनादेर्वर्तमानस्य च वायुक्षेपिष्ठत्वादेः कोटिद्वये योग्यता विद्यत इति नैकवाक्यत्वम् । [इति]

राद्धान्तस्तु,—यद्यप्येकवाक्यता न प्रतीयते; तथाप्यध्ययनविधिना सर्वस्य वेदस्य प्रयोजनवदर्थपरत्वापादानादर्थवादानां तत्सिद्ध्यर्थं रूपभङ्गेनाप्येकवाक्यत्वं लक्षणयाङ्गीकर्तव्यम् , विधेरपि इतिकर्तव्यतात्वेन प्राशस्त्यस्यापेक्षणादिति ।

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१. मुरारिमिश्रमतस्य दिङ्मात्रप्रदर्शनार्थं एतत् ।

तदयुक्तम् ; एवं विचारे प्रतिज्ञातप्रामाण्यानाक्षेपात् पूर्वपक्षसङ्गतिर्न स्यात् । ननु न प्रतिज्ञाक्षेपेण सर्वत्र सङ्गतिः; न हि ग्रहाधिकरणे "शेषः परार्थत्वात्" (३-१-२) इति प्रतिज्ञा निर्विषया भवति, एकग्रहशेषत्वेऽपि संमार्गस्य प्रतिज्ञाया अविरोधात् । सङ्गतिस्तु प्रतिज्ञाया निर्वाहेऽपि--यद्विचार्यतया प्रतिज्ञातम्, तद्विचारे एव भवति ; प्रतिज्ञातश्चात्र वेदप्रामाण्यविचारः ; अर्थवादा अपि वेदा एवेति कथमसङ्गतिः ? एतमन्तरेणापि प्रतिज्ञासिद्धेः प्रतिज्ञायां नायमर्थवादसिद्धान्तहेतुसम्बन्धः स्यादिति चेत्, न ; अनुमानैकदेशभूता हि प्रतिज्ञा तत्साधकेन हेतुना सम्बध्यते ; इह तु विचारस्य प्रतिज्ञासम्बन्धः सङ्गतिनिमित्तम् ; सोऽपि च न हेतुत्वलक्षणः, किन्तु विषयरूपः ; तेन प्रतिज्ञायाः प्रामाण्यविचारविषयत्वादस्ति प्रमाण्यविचारस्य प्रतिज्ञायां सङ्गतिः । हेतुस्तु सिद्धान्तस्य सिद्धान्तेनैव सम्बध्यते, न प्रतिज्ञाया । स्यादेतदेवम्, तर्हि "तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः" (१-१-३) इत्यध्यायप्रतिज्ञयासम्बन्धः स्यात् । चोदनासूत्रे (१-१-२) तु वस्तुप्रतिज्ञा, न तु विचारप्रतिज्ञा ; तत् कथमिदमधिकरणं विनापि सिध्यन्त्या प्रतिज्ञया सङ्गतं स्यात् ? मैवम्, तत्सम्बन्धस्य सङ्गत्यनुपयुक्तत्वात् । द्वादशाध्यायी च तया प्रतिज्ञया सम्बद्धा, न तु प्रथमाध्यायमात्रम् । अतश्च तस्मिन् सूत्रे यावद्वक्ष्यमाणविशेषो धर्मश्चोदनात्मकसम्पूर्णवेदलक्षणक इति प्रतिज्ञा । तत्र यथेतरेषामध्यायानां सामान्यतो धर्मानाक्षेपेऽपि सम्बन्धः, तथास्यापि सामान्यतश्चोदनाप्रामाण्यानाक्षेपेऽपि । स्यादेतत् यदि "तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः" (१-१-३) इति सूत्रे प्रामाण्यमात्रप्रतिज्ञा स्यात् । किन्तु तच्छब्दस्य प्रकृतमात्रवाचित्वात् चोदनाप्रमाणकस्य धर्मस्य प्रकृतत्वात् तन्निमित्तचोदनाप्रामाण्यमेवाध्यायार्थतया प्रतिज्ञातमिति कथमचोदनात्मकस्यानुवादस्य चिन्ता सङ्गता स्यात् ? अस्यापि चोदनात्मत्वेन प्रामाण्यं व्युत्पाद्यमिति चेत्, न ; न व्युत्पाद्यवशात् सङ्गतिः, किन्तु विचार्यवशात् ; विचार्यत्वं चोदनात्वे सतीति कथं सङ्गतिः स्यात् ? नन्वेवमेकचोदनाप्रामाण्याक्षेपेऽपि इतराध्यायवत् सङ्गतिसिद्धिः ; किं सर्वाक्षेपेण ? सत्यम् ; अतिप्रौढिस्तु सेति केचित् । अन्ये तु—चोदनासूत्रे "को धर्मः ?" (शा. भा. १-१-२) इत्येतस्मिन् प्रश्ने 'न प्रत्यक्षादिगम्यः, किन्तु चोदनागम्यः' इत्युक्ते "तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः" (१-१-३) इति सूत्रेण प्रतिज्ञानिर्वाहोचितमेव प्रामाण्यं जिज्ञासितम् ; न तु चोदनाप्रामाण्यमात्रम्, तन्निरपेक्षतया प्रामाण्यमात्रस्याध्यायार्थतयाभिधानानुपपत्तेः । "अथातः शेषलक्षणम्" (३-१-१) इति तु न प्रतिज्ञानन्तरमध्यायार्थप्रतिज्ञानमित्यतः शेषत्वमात्रमेवाध्या-

यार्थः, इह तु न तथा । ततश्च पूर्वपक्षेऽपि प्रतिज्ञायाः साधुत्वे कथं सङ्गतिरिति । न च—प्रथमे एव पादे प्रामाण्यं व्युत्पाद्यम् ; द्वितीये विध्यनुवाद-मन्त्राणामुपयोगकथनम् ; तृतीये तु स्मृतिप्रामाण्यम् ; चतुर्थे नामधेयोपयोग इति । ततश्चौदुम्बरमन्त्रानुवादाद्यधिकरणानां नासङ्गतिरिति वाच्यम् ; तथा सत्येकाध्यायार्थत्वानुपपत्तेः । तस्मादेकवाक्यतयैव पूर्वपक्षः, तथा सति साक्षादङ्ग-द्वारा वा सर्वेषामनुवादैकवाक्यतया प्रामाण्याक्षेपात् प्रतिज्ञाया निर्विषयत्वेनासाधु-त्वात् । यद्यपि किञ्चिन्निरनुवादकमपि वाक्यम् ; तथाप्येकस्या अपि चोदनायाः प्रामाण्याक्षेपेण स्वभावसिद्धमेव शब्दस्याप्रामाण्य........पौरुषेयत्वस्याप्यप्रामाण्यो-पाधित्वव्यभिचारादिति सर्वेषामेवाप्रामाण्यम् ।

नन्वेकवाक्यताभावेऽप्यर्थवादाप्रामाण्ये चोदनाया अपि किं न स्यात् ? न, सिद्धार्थानामनुवादानामप्रामाण्ये व्युत्पत्त्यभावस्यैवोपाधित्वात् । परेषां सिद्धेऽपि व्युत्पत्तिरस्तीति चेत् , न; तथापि व्युत्पत्तेर्भावाद्धर्मेऽपि नानुवादानामप्रामाण्येन देशनाया अपि स्यात् ।

अनुवादानामप्रामाण्ये तदनुवादकतया नार्थज्ञानं स्वाध्यायाध्ययनविधिः प्रयोजनतया गृह्णाति, किन्तु स्वर्गादि ; ततश्चान्यपरत्वात् सर्वा एव चोदना न प्रमाणमिति चेत् , न ; विधेः प्रयोजनान्तरानपेक्षणात् । अत एव नियोगस्य प्रयोजकत्वात् कामाधिकारेऽपि न स्वर्गादेः प्रयोजनतयान्वयः, किन्तु नियोज्य-विशेषणतयैव ।

कथं तर्हि वेदस्यार्थपरत्वमिति चेत् , न; यतोऽर्थाज्जातस्यार्थज्ञानस्य विधिना पश्चादधिकारपर्यवसानार्थं स्वीकारत् । तच्च यथाजातमेव स्वीकारोचितं व्यापक-मव्यापकं वा, सिद्धान्तेऽपि 'हुम्' इत्यादीनामव्यापनात् । न च स्वर्गवन्नियोज्य-विशेषणत्वमेवार्थज्ञानस्य, अनियोगफलत्वात् वैतुष्यवत् , आचार्यविधिलब्धानु-ष्ठानेऽध्ययने नियोज्याभावात् ।

न च वेदार्थज्ञानकामनापि युज्यते; यदि प्रागसौ ज्ञातः, किमर्थं काम्यते ? न चेत् तथापि न कामना, तस्या ज्ञातविषयत्वात् । सामान्यतो ज्ञातं विशेषतो ज्ञानार्थं काम्यते काव्यालङ्कारार्थवदिति चेत् , न; सामान्यतो वेदार्थस्य नित्य-नियोगरूपस्य वेदमन्तरेणाभ्युदयकारितया पुंवाक्यमात्रात् प्रमाणान्तरविरोधेन प्रत्येतुमशक्तेः । वेद एवानुमितः प्रमाणान्तरबाधेन बोधयतीति चेत् , न;

तस्य विशेषशक्तस्य सामान्यबोधनासंभवात् । काव्ये तु पुंवाक्यलिङ्गकेनानुमानेनैव--कश्चिदर्थोऽभ्युदयकारी--इति लक्ष्यते । यदि च विधितः पूर्वमेव स्वाध्यायस्यार्थवत्ता ज्ञायते, तदा किं तदङ्गिनोऽध्ययनविधानेन? नियमार्थो विधिरिति चेत्, न; लौकिकेऽर्थज्ञाने नियमाभावात्, क्रत्वर्थत्वे च निरधिकारत्वात् । किञ्चित्क्रियार्थज्ञानं तु नाधिकारिविशेषणं स्यात् । पुरुषार्थे च नियमेऽर्थज्ञानमाश्रयः स्यात्; अधिकारी त्वन्य एव प्राङ्मुखभोजने इवायुष्कामः । अर्थज्ञानप्रवृत्तिर्वा निमित्तं स्यात् प्रतिग्रहादाविवार्जनकामस्य प्रवृत्तिः; न त्वर्थज्ञानं फलम् । न च स्वाध्यायादेर्नियमः संभवति, अन्याप्रसक्तेः ।

नन्वेकवाक्यतयापि कथं पूर्वपक्षः? सा हि क्रियाकारकादिपदेषु विभक्त्यादिबलाद्भवति; विभक्त्या संनिहितपदार्थप्रतियोगिककारणत्वस्याभिधानात् । इह तु द्वयोरनुपहताख्यातयोर्न व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धा एकवाक्यता; वाक्यभेद एव तु व्युत्पन्नः ।

उच्यते---सिद्धसिद्धार्थसाध्यार्थान्वययोरप्याख्यातयोरेकवाक्यत्वं व्युत्पन्नम् । हेतुहेतुमद्भावेन चान्वयः । यथा 'मलिनं ते वपुः वर्तते; स्नायाः' इति । 'मलिनः स्नायात्'—इति तु नोदाहरणम्; तत्र मलिनस्य कर्तृत्वेनाधिकारित्वेन वान्वितस्य साध्यकोटित्वात् हेतुत्वेनान्वयाभावात्, एकाख्यातत्वाच्च ।

तच्चेदं मलिनत्वस्य सिद्धिहेतुत्वमेव, न तु करणत्वादिकोटिबहिर्भूतत्वम् । अत एव न साध्यताप्रसङ्गः; मलिनत्वं हि स्वापनयेच्छाद्वारा स्नानहेतुरिति केचित् । तन्न, इच्छायामपि भूतायामिष्टसाधनताज्ञानमन्तरेण कर्तव्यताज्ञानाभावात् ज्ञप्तिसिद्धावेव व्यापारात् । ज्ञानं चैवं सिद्धिहेतुः स्यात्, न च मलिनत्वम् । तस्य चान्वयो वक्तव्यः, न तु ज्ञानस्य । सिद्धिहेतोर्हेतुत्वेनाभिधानं किमर्थम्? स्वरूपमात्रज्ञानस्यैवेच्छाऽजनकत्वात् । तस्मात् स्नाननिष्ठा साधनता अस्नानमलिनत्वादिति ज्ञप्तिहेतुतयैवान्वयः । अतोऽनुवादकस्यापि ज्ञप्तिहेतुतयैवान्वयः । तत्र यदि प्रतिबन्धग्राहकं प्रमाणमस्ति, तदानुमानप्रमेयप्रमाणतयाऽनुबोधयन्ती देशना नाप्रमाणम्; अथ नास्ति, तथापि विपर्ययायातस्मृतिमात्रजनिका सापेक्षत्वान्न प्रमाणम् ।

ननु शब्द एव प्रतिबन्धं बोधयिष्यति, अस्मिन्नेवांशे प्रमाणं भविष्यति; अनुमेयत्वांशो भवत्वप्रमाणम् । मैवम्; न ह्यनुमानवाक्यानि हेतुस्वरूपतत्प्रतिबन्धादिप्रतिपादकत्वेन व्युत्पन्नानि; किन्तु प्रमाणान्तरसिद्धहेतुस्वरूपतत्प्रतिबन्धादिस्मरणद्वारानुमानज्ञानोत्पादकानि । अतः शाब्द एवानुमानवाक्यस्य नास्ति, शब्दभावेन प्रामाण्ये प्रतिज्ञामात्रेण साध्यप्रतीतौ हेत्वादिप्रयोगवैयर्थ्यात् ।

सहेतुकं कार्यं प्रतिपन्नं सहेतुकत्वाय प्रतिबन्धमाक्षिपति इति चेत्, न; प्रतिबन्धस्य प्रतीतिहेतुत्वात् तदाक्षेपमन्तरेण प्रतीतेरेवासिद्धत्वात्। न तु सर्वत्राक्षेपः संभवति; रुद्ररोदनादिहेतुस्वरूपे नित्यानित्यसंयोगविरोधात्, प्रतिबन्धस्य रजतदानेऽपि संवत्सरादर्वाग्रोदनानुपलम्भेन बाधात्।

केचित्तु ज्ञापकत्वातिरिक्तसम्बन्धाप्रे [पे] क्षित्वात् हेतुत्वस्य चानुवादेऽसंभवात् न हेतुत्वा[पेक्षा] आक्षेप इत्याहुः। तन्न, रोदनप्रभवबर्हिर्द्वारकरजतदानयो रोदनजनकत्वाकर्तव्यतयोश्च कार्यकारणभावैकार्थसमवाययोः संभवात्।

नन्वेवं हेतुत्वासंभवात् कथमन्विताभिधानम्? तदभावे च प्रतीत्यभावात् कथमेकार्थप्रतीतिजनकत्वादेकवाक्यता?

आपाततः प्रतीतैकवाक्यता चरमं भज्येतैव-इति केचित्। तन्न, चरममेकवाक्यताभङ्गे तन्निमित्तस्याप्रमाण्यस्यापि भङ्गप्रसङ्गात्। तद्भङ्गे चक्रकापत्तिरिति चेत्, तर्हि त्यज्यतामियमेकवाक्यता, चक्रकनिदानत्वात्। व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धैकवाक्यता न हातुमर्हति, न वायोग्यात् प्रतीतिः संभवति इत्याशयेन विशीर्णान्येव वेदवाक्यानीति कश्चित्। तन्न, एवमध्यवसायेन पूर्वपक्षापत्तेः। पूर्वपक्षिणां भ्रमज्ञानाङ्गीकारात् भ्रान्तैकप्रतीतिजनकतयैवैकवाक्यत्वम् इत्यन्ये। तन्न, देशान्तरनिषिद्धस्य स्वीकारासंभवात् स्वसिद्धान्ततन्मूलन्यायेतरन्यायदर्शित्वात् पूर्वपक्षिणो भ्रान्तेश्चाव्यवस्थितत्वात् भिन्नान्यपि वाक्यान्येवमैकवाक्यानि स्युः। अत एव भिन्नानामपि ज्ञानानां भेदाग्रहवत् एकार्थव्यवहारकारितयैकतामौपाधिकीमाश्रित्य तज्जनकतयैकवाक्यत्वं संभवति इति निरस्तम्।

उच्यते—नैकप्रतीतिकारित्वमेकवाक्यतावधारणहेतुः, किन्त्वेकार्थप्रतीतिपरत्वम्। तच्च प्रतीत्यजननेऽप्यस्ति, फलशून्यस्यापि तात्पर्यस्यानाप्तवाक्योष्विव संम्भवात्। तदवधारणमपि योग्यतां नापेक्षते, अयोग्येष्वपि विप्रलम्भकवाक्येषु तदवधारणात्। सिद्धसाध्यसमभिव्याहारादिरेव तस्या अवधारणे हेतुः। अत एव गङ्गाघोषादौ लक्षणा; अन्यथा—योग्यत्वादेकवाक्यत्वम्, तद्बलाच्च लक्षणया योग्यत्वम्—इति दुरुत्तरमितरेतराश्रयं स्यात्। तस्मादन्विताभिधाने एव योग्यता कारणम्, न त्वेकवाक्यतावधारणे यथा च सिद्धान्ते प्राशस्त्योपनयपदानां सम्भूय प्रत्येकं वा, तथा पूर्वपक्षे हेतूपनयः। न चैवं प्राशस्त्योपनय एवास्त्विति वाच्यम्; लक्षणाप्रसक्तेः। प्रामाण्यार्थं लक्षणेति चेत्, न; अव्युत्पन्नत्वात्।

राद्धान्तस्तु—शङ्कितदोषाद्धि पुंवाक्यात् प्रतीतोऽर्थः प्रमाणभूतं हेतुमपक्षते ; निर्दोषात्तु वेदात् प्रतीतस्य विशेषतोऽपूर्वस्य न हेत्वपेक्षा । न च तदुत्थापनं शक्यम्, स्वरूपभङ्गप्रसङ्गात् । न चानुवादानुरोधेन तत्स्वरूपमेव त्याज्यम् ; अनुवादत्वात्, तस्य प्रधानत्वात् । अतो वाक्यार्थेऽपूर्वेऽनुवादार्थस्य सम्बन्धानुपपत्तेः प्राशस्त्यलक्षणैव ; नैव ह्यप्रामाण्यार्थे लक्षणा । किं च अगृहीतप्रतिबन्धतयानुवादार्थो न मुख्यान्वययोग्यो गङ्गापदार्थ इवेति लक्षणैव युक्ता । स्तावकत्वेन चान्वयो दृष्ट एव यथा—इयं गौः क्रय्या स्त्र्यपत्या—इत्यादौ । तद्गुणस्वरूपकथनमेवेति चेत्, न; वाक्यभेददोषात् । हेतुत्वेन तत्राप्यन्वय इति चेत्, न; असतोऽपि गुणस्य कीर्तनात् । विप्रलम्भ इति चेत्, न ; आप्तैरपि प्रयोगात्--एवं "वरं विषं भुङ्क्ष्व, मा वास्य गृहे भुङ्क्थाः"--इत्याद्युदाहार्यम् । मुख्यार्थानुवादकतयैवानुवादानां प्रामाण्यमस्तु; किं प्राशस्त्यलक्षणया ? इति चेत्, न; एकस्मिन् वाक्ये प्रतीतिवदनुवादश्चेत्यङ्गीकारे वाक्यभेदप्रसङ्गात्—इति केचित् । कथं तर्हि "सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेत्" इति निर्वपतिरनुवाद इति चेन्न, तस्यापि स्तावकत्वात् ; अविधेयान्वयितया त्वनुवादोक्तिः ।

तन्न, क्रमेणान्विताभिधाने एकस्मिन्नपि वाक्ये प्राप्त्यनुवादयोः संभवात् । यदि नो वादः, तदा प्राशस्त्योपनयेऽपि का विधा स्यात्? यदि च तदपि विधीयते, तदा स्वातन्त्र्येण वाक्यभेदः । तद्विशिष्टयागादिविधावपि प्राशस्त्याङ्गत्वमनुवादानां विध्युद्देश्यत्वं प्रसज्येत । उपलक्षणमिति चेत्, एवं तर्हि तत् प्रमाणान्तरप्रतीतमेव भवति, न तूपादेयम् । तदा च तस्य वादः कथमनुवादः स्यात्? विध्युद्देशप्रवृत्तक्रतौ हि सिध्यतां पश्चादङ्गोपकारार्थं प्राप्तानां वादोऽनुवादो भवति । वेदनादि तु न तथेति केचित् । तदयुक्तम्; यदि तस्य नानुवादः, तर्हि प्राशस्त्यस्वाभाविकस्य कृतेरसिध्यतः कथं प्रथमवादोऽपि भवेत्?

उच्यते—न वा च रोदनादीनां स्वरूपेण प्राप्तिरस्ति ; विध्यन्वयितया तु सुतरां दूरम् । तत् कथं मुख्यार्थस्यानुवादः स्यात्? यत्र तु सम्भवति, तत्र भवतु तथा । तस्माल्लक्षणया प्राशस्त्यमेवोपनीयते ; कस्तस्यान्वयप्रकार इति चिन्त्यम् ।

अन्वय एवायं विभक्त्यन्वयिकरणत्वादिवत् ; न त्वस्याप्यन्वयान्तरापेक्षा विद्यते इत्येके । तन्न ; एवं तर्हि विध्युद्देशतापत्तेः विभक्तिवत् । न च फलसाधनत्वं प्राशस्त्यम्, येनान्वये प्रकारता स्यात् ; किं तु तद्वशादन्योत्कृष्टत्वम् ।

भवतु तर्हि विधेयविशेषत्वमेव प्राशस्त्यस्य ; ननु तस्य प्रयत्नविशेषानपेक्षस्य तदुपनेया स्तुतिरेव विधेयास्तु, प्राशस्त्येन स्वज्ञानस्योपस्थापनसम्भवात् । न चैवं विध्युद्देशत्वापात इति वाच्यम् ; तस्य प्रयोजनत्वादिति चेत् , न ; लक्षितलक्षणापत्तेः । प्राशस्त्योपस्थितिरेव स्तुतेरप्युपस्थितिः, स्वप्रकाशत्वाज्ज्ञानस्येति चेत्, न; तथाप्यर्थप्रवणतां हित्वा स्वप्रवणताकल्पने गौरवापत्तेः ।

उच्यते—विधेयोपलक्षणतया प्राशस्त्योपनयः । ननूक्तमु....[प]लक्षणमन्यव्यवच्छेदकं न भवति यथा—कमण्डलुना च्छात्रमानय--इति च्छात्रान्तरं व्यवच्छिद्यते । न चात्र तदस्ति, अप्रशस्तस्य वायोर्व्यवच्छेद्यस्याभावात् । मैवम् ; न व्यावर्तकमुपलक्षणं विशेषणं वा, किं तु कार्याङ्गं सत् सम्बद्धं विशेषणम् कार्यानङ्गं सम्बद्धं चोपलक्षणम् ; व्यवच्छेदस्तु प्रयोजनमुभयोः । तदिह प्राशस्त्यस्य विधेयवाय्वादिसम्बन्धादुपलक्षणत्वमुक्तम् । न च प्रयोजनाभावो दोषः ; न हि सर्वेण प्रयोजनवता भवितव्यम् ; अस्ति तु तदिति सर्वत्रातिरेके परिहारः । न चैवमनुवादानामधिकस्यानुष्ठेयस्यानुपनेयत्वाच्चोदनान्तर्निवेशो न स्यादिति वाच्यम्; सम्भूयकारित्वव्युत्पत्तेः अनुवादं विना कार्यज्ञानस्यासम्भवात्तस्यैवानुष्ठेय(त्व)प्रतिपादनात् । अत एवार्थवादानां प्रमाणकोटिपर्यवसायित्वमुच्यते । यद्यप्येतादृशं कार्यस्य स्वरूपे प्रमाणत्वं सर्वेषामेव विद्यते, तथापीतरेषामनुष्ठेयान्तरद्वारापि कार्ये व्यापार इति न तथा व्यपदेशः । न च विध्युद्देशेऽनाकाङ्क्षितत्वात् प्राशस्त्यस्य नान्वय इति वाच्यम् ; रक्तपटवदाकाङ्क्षोपस्थापनसम्भवात् । यथा पटपदं भवति, नैव निराकाङ्क्षं रक्तपदं पट(पद)मन्तरेण, साकाङ्क्षम् ; अतस्तद्बलात् पटस्यापि रक्ते आकाङ्क्षाकल्पनम् , तथात्रापि । न चात्रासम्भव एवाकाङ्क्षायाः; यथा हि पटस्य रक्तो गुणः, तथा प्राशस्त्यमपि वाय्वादीनाम् । न च--लाक्षणिकत्वादनुवादानां नाभिधानापर्यवसानम् , अतश्च कथमाकाङ्क्षा---इति वाच्यम् ; यतः सर्वलक्षणासाधारणत्वात् । तस्मादभिधानग्रहणमुपलक्षणं तत्र, तात्पर्यापर्यवसानं तु तत्र विवक्षितम् । यद्याकाङ्क्षाकल्पने नान्विताभिधानमुभयाकाङ्क्षालक्षणत्वात् सम्बन्धस्य, तर्हि हविरुभयत्वेऽप्याकाङ्क्षाकल्पनम् ; अतः कथं तदविवक्षितमिति चेत् , न; विशेषणत्वमात्रेण हि तत्राकाङ्क्षा कल्पनम् , न तूद्देश्यकाटिविशेषणत्वेनेत्यदोषः ।

तत्र प्राशस्त्यं प्रतिपदमेव लक्ष्यते ; अतो बह्वयः स्तुतय इति केचित् । तदयुक्तम्, एकस्मिन् पदे स्तुतिबुद्धेरनुपपत्तेः । अपि चैवं विध्यन्वये रोदनादीनां विधेयत्वमेव किं न स्यात्? रुद्ररोदनं हि विधातुं न शक्यते, न तु रोदनमात्रम् । अपि चैवं क्रियाकारकभावेनान्वयः प्रतीयते, स भज्येत ; तत्त्यागे वाक्यभेदतुल्यो दोषः स्यात् । तस्मात् सम्भूय प्राशस्त्यलक्षणा ।

नन्वेवं विशकलितानां लक्षकत्वाभावादनुवादानां परस्परान्वयः प्रत्येतव्यः; स चान्वयाभिधाने न । न चान्विताभिधानकालीना लक्षणा सम्भवति, वाक्यार्थप्रतीतिहेतुकत्वाल्लक्षणायाः । वाक्यैकवाक्यता चैवमनुवादविध्युद्देशयोः स्यात्, स्वार्थबोधे पर्यवसानात् । अवान्तरव्यापारतया स्वान्वयावगतिः; अतः पदार्थप्रातीतिस्थानीयत्वादत्रोपदेशवाक्यतैवेति चेत्, न; सर्वत्र वाक्यैकवाक्यतोच्छेदप्रसङ्गात् । यत्र द्वयमेवान्विताभिधानं कार्यविषयम्, द्वयोश्च वाक्यार्थयोः परस्परान्वयः, तत्रैकवाक्यता यथा अधिकाराङ्गवाक्ययोः कार्याभिधानेन वाक्यपर्यवसानादिति चेत्, एवं तर्ह्यकार्यार्थानामनुवादानामन्विताभिधानमेव कथम्? कार्यान्विताभिधाननियमात्तर्कात् सिद्धार्थानामन्वयावगतिः, ततो लक्षणेति चेत्, न; तर्कस्य प्रमाणान्तरप्रमेयतयोपस्थापकत्वात् तस्मिंश्च प्रमाणान्तरप्रातीतेः । न च सा विशिष्टावगतिरेव युक्ता; अयथावस्तुविषयत्वात् । न च तत्रापि लक्षणा तथा सति तादृशेन विशिष्टेन प्राशस्त्यबुद्ध्यभावात् ।

उच्यते--प्रत्येकं पदार्थाः स्मर्यन्ते । तषां च भेदाग्रहाद्विशिष्टैकार्थव्यवहारकारित्वं भ्रमतयावभाति । [यथा] तत्र भ्रमादभेदव्यवहारो जायते तथात्राभेदज्ञानोचितं स्मरणम्, तस्यापि व्यवहारकोटित्वात् स्मरणम्—रजतस्य रोदनप्रभवतया तद्दानं रोदनहेतुः—इति भ्रमावगते तस्यानुत्कृष्टत्वस्मरणम्, ततोऽदानस्योत्कृष्टत्वम्, ततस्तदन्वितस्वार्थो विध्युद्देशनोच्यते । एवमन्येषु निन्दानुवादेषु । प्रशंसार्थवादेषु तु....[न] प्राशस्त्यमेव प्रथमं लक्ष्यते । तस्माद्भ्रमनिमित्ता लक्षणात्र व्युत्पाद्यते । यत्र विशिष्टोऽर्थः सत्य एव, तत्र भ्रमत्वं न भवति ; किं तु तत्रापि नान्विताभिधानम् । अत एव भेदस्याग्रहत्वान्न भ्रमत्वम् । अत एव पठन्ति "सतावासतार्थेन स्तुतिः कर्तव्या"–इति ।

अन्ये त्वाहुः—न प्राशस्त्यान्वितः स्वार्थो विध्युद्देशेनोच्यते । किन्त्वनुवादपदैरन्वितस्यैव प्राशस्त्यलक्षणा । क्षिप्रफलदातृत्वे वायोर्भ्रमादप्यवगते वायव्य-

यागस्य क्षिप्रफलसाधनतारूपप्राशस्त्यमनुमानाभासरूपात् स्मरणाद्भवति । तच्च ज्ञानं लिङा यत् कर्तव्यताभिधानमपूर्वस्य कार्यम्, तत्र दु:खमयकर्ममूलतया नेयस्य प्रतिबन्धं वारयति । अतः प्रमाणकोटित्वमेव स्तुतेः । नन्वनुवादाः प्रमेयमन्विताभिधाने न निवेशयन्ति; अत एवैषामप्रयोजनत्वम् । अनतिप्रयोजनत्वं तु परिभावनेनैव प्रेक्षावतां प्रतिबन्धनिवृत्तेः । यदि सर्वथा निष्प्रयोजनत्वं स्यात्, ततः कथं लोके स्तुतिः स्यात्? न हि तत्रायं परिहारः, न च यं वेदकर्तार इति ।

विवरणे तु—बाह्यहेतूत्थमप्रामाण्यं प्रथमपादे निरस्तम् । इदानीं तु वेदवाक्योत्थमेवाप्रामाण्यं निरस्यत इति पादभेदः पादावान्तरसङ्गतिश्च पूर्वपक्षः हेतुसापेक्षकार्यप्रतिपादाकत्वात् लिङस्तादृशस्वभावावधारणात् । यत्रापि हेतुर्नास्ति, तत्रापि सापेक्षमेव कार्यं प्रतिपाद्यमिति सकलवेदप्रामाण्याक्षेपः । न च स्तावकत्वेनान्वयः; तथापि हेतुत्वापरित्यागात्—यस्मात् प्रशस्तोऽयम्, तस्मात् कर्तव्य इति तदाप्यन्वयः ।

राद्धान्तस्तु—यत एव हेतुत्वेनान्वये कार्यस्य कार्यत्वं नास्ति, अत एव स्तावकत्वेनान्वये न स्तुतितः कार्यम् । किं तु कार्यत एव स्तुतिः । कार्यमेव ह्यभिधीयमानं स्वावगमाय लिङादिसहकारितया स्तुतिमपक्षेते, न तु प्राशस्त्यं कार्यावगमे लिङ्गमिति ।

॥ इति त्रिपादीनीतिनयने अर्थवादाधिकरणम् ॥

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

HINDU MYSTICISM—BY PROFESSOR S. N. DASGUPTA, M. A., PH. D. Harris Lectures for 1926 delivered at North-Western University, Evanston, Illinois—The Open Court Publishing Company—London—Chicago.

Price S. 2-00.

This neat little volume contains six lectures delivered by Professor S. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D., on the development of Indian Mysticism in 1926, as Harris Lectures for 1926 at North-Western University, Evanston, Illinois. The learned author attempts in these lectures to give a comprehensive and historical account of Hindu Mysticism, taking the term mysticism, not in its usual sense, but in a sense so comprehensive as to include almost every phase of Hindu thought. It is certainly commendable that the learned Professor has put together in these lectures some useful ideas about Hindu Mysticism. But, in the attempt to trace the evolution of Hindu mystic thought, the essential elements of the chief types of Hindu Mysticism are not given adequate prominence. By what mysterious process, the distinguished Professor expects his readers to be able to find any mystic element in the ill-assorted faggot of Mīmāṁsā concepts grouped together under the title *Sacrificial Mysticism*, one is at a loss to know.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

ROMANCE IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY—BY R. NAGARAJA SARMA, M. A., L. T. PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, MADRAS.

In this polemical pamphlet, the author plays successfully the role of a rising *vaitaṇḍika*, and seeks to provide an effective catharsis to the Śāstraic side of Professor S. Radhakrishnan's great work on Indian Philosophy. If impartial students should use the polemical notices in this pamphlet in a purely academical spirit, Professor S. Radhakrishnan's work would receive a just estimate at their hands; and after passing through such criticisms, it would surely come out in its second edition as a flawless work with a glorious and genuine lustre on the conserving side, added to its present brilliance on the expository side. While certain

criticisms in this pamphlet, like the one directed against Professor S. Radhakrishnan's suggestion about *Sāṅkhyaikāntavāda* in the Nyāya-bhāṣya being akin to the Pythagorean theory of numbers, are perfectly justified, Professor S. Radhakrishnan's critic nods, as he ought not to, in his remarks about Professor S. Radhakrishnan's rendering of the word '*avyapadeśya*' in Gautama's definition of *pratyakṣa*. It would be as easy to maintain from the point of view the *Tātparyācārya* that Professor S. Radhakrishnan's rendering of the term *avyapadeśya* is not wrong, as to show that Professor S. Radhakrishnan's critic is needlessly creating a mist over one of the alternative interpretations of that term given by Vātsyāyana in his Bhāṣya. The author of the pamphlet may well reconsider his remarks on this point in the light of the relevant portions of Uddyotakara's Nyāya-vārtika and Vācaspatimiśra's Tātparya-ṭīkā.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

RECORDS OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

1. DIARY AND CONSULTATION BOOK OF 1704.
2. DIARY AND CONSULTATION BOOK OF 1705 AND
3. JAMES STRANGE'S "JOURNAL AND NARRATIVE OF THE COMMERCIAL EXPEDITION FROM BOMBAY TO THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA" TOGETHER WITH A CHART SHOWING THE TRACT OF THE EXPEDITION. WITH AN INTRODUCTION (IN EACH CASE).

BY

MR. A. V. VENKATARAMAYYAR, M.A., L.T., *Curator, Madras Record Office*. Printed by The Superintendent, Government Press, Madras. 1928. Priced, respectively, Rs. 5-8-0, Rs. 7-0-0 and Rs. 8-8-0.

THE Madras Record Office seems to have obtained a sudden access of vitality, for three volumes of the Records of Fort St. George have succeeded one another rapidly in a single year in attaining the light of day. These records are the "source-books" which can enable the historical investigator to construct a very accurate picture of the transactions of the East India Company long before it dreamt of becoming the divinely-ordained agency for the slow expansion of the protoplasm of the British Empire in the East. The Diary and Consultation Books are what will now be called, "The Minutes of the Meetings of the Governor in

Council of Fort St. George", which in those days controlled not only the affairs of this Fort but also the Company's factories on the Coast and the Far East.

These Minutes contain besides the resolutions of the Council on matters discussed by it, statements of accounts, copies of petitions, indentures and such other matter which throw light not only on the progress of the Company's trade, but accounts of the development of fortifications, dealing with the officials of the Mughal Empire, such as bribes and presents to keep them in good humour, stores of villages acquired—all of which have now become suburbs of Madras—of peculations of the—Company's officials, for those were days in which the 'pagoda tree' was very vigorously shaken, and notes about the social life of the Europeans and the Indians in the neighbourhood of the fast-growing city of Madras. A very rich mine is thus thrown open for the student of real history to delve into.

These books were all written by the writers of the Company, who were not men who possessed a public school education. Not only is the style quaint, but these writers indulge in a plethora of capitals which make their appearance wherever they are not wanted and delight in omitting punctuation marks whereever they are needed. Reading through them, though interesting in its own way, is somewhat wearisome except to those who are familiar with the eighteenth century English with all its peculiarities of style, syntax and spelling. Old Indian copies of literary masterpieces on *Ola* or birch bark too omitted puncutation marks; but that does not give the reader any trouble, for rhyme and rhythm, assonance and alliteration and other graces of poetry, besides its metrical form enable one to dispense with punctuation marks, but to read long, complicated sentences following one another endlessly without those marks or capitals where they are necessary make it rather hard work to wade through these records. We welcome therefore all the more the help that the careful editor has rendered us. He has skimmed the cream of these records and served us several dishes of it in his short and sweet introduction. Evidently the editor's tastes are catholic. He notes such varied items as these :—Dr. Bulkley claimed a palanquin allowance to enable him to go through his rounds. The reader may be reminded that palanquins were the only mode of conveyance available in Madras in those days. The quarrelsome hackney-coach driver, the patient manbuffalo

that drags the rickshaw, even the sonorous owner of the rattling jutka were then totally unknown. A new *marakkal* was struck in 1704 to prevent fraud. Toddy drawers then as now put *datura* into the liquor and this was put a stop to by the Governor . . . . . . Daud Khan, the Nawab of the Carnatic, a great devotee of Bacchus, was presented with liquor to the value of about 30 pagodas. But it will not be fair, however tempting, to transfer to the pages of a review all the interesting notes which the editor has picked up with great trouble.

James Strange's Journal is quite a different kind of literature. The Greek spirit of adventure which animated the people of Tudor England did not die out in the Civil Wars of the eighteenth century. James Strange, we learn from the editor's introduction, was the elder brother of the Chief Justice Sir Thomas Strange, whose name is even to-day heard now and then in the Madras High Court. He undertook a voyage to the Nootka Sound in August 1785, and returned to Madras in 1787. This "Commercial Expedition to the North-west Coast of America which a view to establish fur trade between China and America was not a success from a commercial point of view"; but though the successes and failures of the East India Company's experiments are a thing of the past, the story of travel to foreign lands has a living interest and will not willingly be laid aside by readers so long as human nature is what it is. We are therefore highly thankful to the learned Curator, Madras Record Office, for rescuing from oblivion such an interesting Journal of Travel.

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA—BY PROFESSOR J. N. SAMADDAR.*

This book is the second edition of the Patna University Readership Lectures delivered by the learned professor. It comprises six lectures and forms, as it were, a monograph on the history of Magadha as known to ancient India, constructed and evolved from out of the evidences afforded by and the inferences drawn from the familiar sources of Indian History, *viz.*, literature, inscriptions, excavations, sculpture and the accounts of foreign travellers. The author has dealt with this subject in four

* [Since publishing this review we hear with great regret the sad demise of the learned Professor. Ed.]

aspects which are indicated by the headings of the chapters, namely "The land we live in"; "The capitals of Magadha"; "The Edicts of Asoka"; "The University of Nālandā"; and the "Royal University of Vikramaśīla." It is indeed, a difficult task to pursue with success, the course taken by one among the numerous principalities of India amidst the labyrinths and ramifications of the woodlands of ancient Indian History and to keep one's vision fixed on this one object along the changing and kaleidoscopic panorama from the misty antiquity of the Ṛg Veda and the Brāhmaṇas, to the palmy days of the Imperial Mauryas and Guptas and ending with the rule of the Pāla dynasty and the Muhamadan invasion of Bengal. The learned professor deserves our warm congratulations for having accomplished this task with conspicuous success. He has dwelt on the 'Glories of Magadha' in the true spirit of a patriotic son of the soil, fond of the achievements of his native land and proud of the part it has played in the history of India. In the first chapter he has catalogued the contributions of Magadha to Indian civilisation and the great men it has given birth to. We cannot, however, fully endorse the statement that Kālidāsa was also a native of Magadha. In fact, "if tradition is to be relied on" it goes against it and makes him a native of Ujjain. The author has devoted the third and the fourth lectures entirely to the most glorious period of Magadhan History under the Emperor Aśoka and specially deals with the political, social and economic aspects of the edicts. He has tried to interpret some of the phrases occurring in the edicts in the light of the knowledge derived from Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra and disputes the correctness of the interpretations given by Vincent Smith and Dr. Thomas. The author has assumed without discussion that the Artha Śāstra of Kauṭilya, discovered by Dr. Sama Sastri, is really the work of Cāṇakya the minister of Candragupta and that it belongs to the period of Candragupta's reign. But we have to point out that there is acute controversy among scholars as regards this. We may refer to the article of Dr. Keith on "The authenticity of the Artha Śāstra" published in the Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume wherein he says 'the only conclusion, therefore, which seems compatible with the facts is that the Artha Śāstra is not the work of Kauṭilya, minister of Candragupta." If that is so, the theory adumbrated in these chapters will require reconsideration. Incidentally, we have also to observe that it is difficult to accept the reason given by the professor for the decline of Buddhism

in India in spite of the best efforts of Aśoka. He says "Aśoka's too strong a leading towards the sanctity of animal life produced a very marked re-action and thus produced *pari passu* a feeling against the Buddistic religion of Aśoka". This statement must be entirely based on the supposition that the Hindus never cared for the sanctity of animal life and that this utter disregard of animal life is such a rooted characteristic of the Hindu race that there was a revulsion of feeling against the humane laws Aśoka promulgated in the Edicts. There is hardly any warrant for such a supposition.

The most note-worthy chapters in the book are those which give a detailed description of the Universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla and furnish a wealth of interesting and useful information to the reader. Mention is also made of another University at Uddaṇḍa Pura, founded by Gopāla, the first king of the Pāla dynasty. One would expect that a history of Magadha will not be complete without a brief account at least of the contribution of Magadha to the language and literature of India, such as the Māgadhī Dialect and the Māgadhī Rīti. The author has not however dealt with it in this book. We hope he will add a chapter on this subject in the next edition.

K. BALASUBARAMANIA IYER.

"HEROES OF OLD INDIA"——By Percy Pigot. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, 38, Great Ormond Street, London : 5+83 pages. Price—10 Shillings.

The author, Percy Pigot remarks even at the outset "Believing that the west can be spiritually enlightened and philosophically enriched by a more sympathetic appreciation of the deep religious teaching which India's holy sages have given to the world and that the people of India would benefit by absorbing to themselves those principles of political liberty and individual freedom for which his own race is renowned, the author, in writing this book, has been inspired by the hope of aiding in some small measure in uniting these nations." The west has certainly got to learn much from the spiritual traditions of India, handed down by the holy sages. The author is quite right when he says, "But the west has never produced a really great religious teacher, or a single work that can rank among the sacred books of the world. On the other hand, India is richest of all the ages and continues in sacred writings and venerable tradi-

tions and in teachers, whose words have illuminated millions of followers; it is the home of Nārada and Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha, the land of the Vedas, of the Mahābhārata, of the Bhagavad Gītā and the Rāmāyaṇa. And the history of India is as grand and as great as her philosophy is illuminating and ennobling."

The volume under review deals with i. Rāma and Sītā; ii. Yudhiṣṭhira, the warrior; and iii. The Lord Buddha. In all these narratives the author shows himself to be more a 'historical novelist' than anything else. The main incidents of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, of the Mahābhārata and of the life of Lord Buddha are set forth lucidly; but at the same time the author invests them with a garb which is peculiarly his own. This makes the narrative more attractive to the western mind.

The book is neatly got up, and the printing well executed.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

No. 3. STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY OF. The Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

The Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara—Vol. I 1542-1614 By Rev. Henry Heras, S. J. Professor of Indian History. Rupees 10/- iv + 680.

The Indian Historical Research Institute attached to the St. Xavier's College deserves hearty congratulations on the excellent work done by the institute for the cause of Indian Historical Research. The work under review forms the third of their publications. Rev. Heras, S. J. the author of the work under review has been for a long time working at the history of South India and this work is the outcome of years of labour and patient research done in that field.

This book forms a sequel to that excellent work of Robert Sewell—"A Forgotten Empire." That portion of the history of Vijayanagara which has been only lightly touched upon in the work of Sewell has been taken up and dealt with at length by Father Heras. Beginning from the reign of Veṅkaṭa I the work narrates the political, social and economic conditions of the empire up to the death of Veṅkaṭa II. The author has utilized all available materials to a surprisingly great extent. As a missionary he has had free access to the documents preserved in the Archives at Pangim and other places. They are mostly in the form of letters written by the Portuguese King to his officers in India and they throw much light on contemporary events.

Most of the previous historians of the Vijayanagara dynasty had no access to the original papers themselves and consequently the present work is important in that respect. The Indian sources of the history are mainly the inscriptions that have been published in the leading Oriental Journals. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Sources of Vijayanagara History has been utilized to a large extent, though the original works referred to therin have been sparingly used by the author. Many of the works referred to are unfortunately not available in translations and consequently the author has been put to much difficulty in using those materials. When one has to depend upon others for his imformation, certainly some slips are sure to occur and they could not be avoided. Still the successful handling of the subject which is testified to in so many places in the volume creates for itself a very high place in Indian Historical Literature. Proper diacritical marks would have enhanced the importance of the work to a large extent, but unfortunately it has not been followed. Let us eagerly look forward for the second volume of this work.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

BHASA KATHA SARA—by Y. Mahalinga Sastri B. A., B. L., Advocate, Mylapore, Madras. Two volumes.

The thirteen dramas printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in the name of Bhāsa are in many respects remarkable productions of the Sanskrit stage. Besides their high literary excellence they are eminently adapted to the stage. Bhāsa is a master in the art of story-telling, and the interest in the dramas is kept up to the last. Moreover the diction of the plays is natural and easy; and the prose passages in particular remain unsurpassed in Sanskrit literature for their simplicity and directness. Mr. Sastri has done a great service to the sanskrit reading public by rendering the thirteen dramas in easy and elegant prose. One noteworthy feature of these renderings is that Mr. Sastri has very largely incorporated the language of the dramas in his prose, and has generally managed to tell the tales in the words of the dramatist himself; and this is a commendable idea. The two volumes remind one of the similar production of Charles Lamb with reference to the dramas of Shakespeare. Simple Sanskrit prose is still very much a desideratum and these works can advantageously be prescribed for the School Final and Intermediate examinations.

T. L. VENKATARAMA AIYAR.

NOTE WORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

April, 1928.

Vedic Studies, By *A. Venkatasubba Aiyah, M. A., Ph. D.*—This is a continuation of the previous articles. This portion deals with the meaning of the word *yakṣa*.

Buddhist Women, By *B. C. Law, M. A., Ph. D.*—This also is a continuation from the previous numbers. The article will continue.

Śaurasenī and Māgadhī *Stabakas of Rāma Śārman* (is edited as a supplement, By *Sir G. A. Grierson, K. C. I. E.*

May, 1928.

Deva Rāya II, By *S. Srikantha Sastri, M. A.*—A short account of the rule of the Vijayanagara King Deva Rāja of the first dynasty is given in this paper.

Buddhist Women.—Continued from the previous issue.

Śauraśenī and Māgadhī Stabakas,—is concluded.

June, 1928.

Vedic Studies, By *A. Venkatasubba Aiyah, M. A. Ph. D.*—

August, 1928.

Meaning and Etymology of Pūjā, By *Cintaharan Chakravarti M. A.*—This is note on Charpentiers article and contests his derivation.

Vedic studies, By *A. Venkatasubba Aiyah.*—The word *yakṣa* is continued in this number also.

September, 1928.

The Home of the Upaniṣads, By *Umesh Chandra Bhattacharya M. A.*—The author tries to indicate the places from which the Upaniṣads could have been written. The article will continue.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, VOL. XIV pt. ii, June, 1928.

1. *Hedonism in Ancient India* By *Charu Chandra Sinha M. A.*

2. *A New Gupta King* By *A. S. Altekar.*

Extracts from the Devī Candragupta show clearly that Samudragupta was succeeded by his son called Rāmagupta ; and

this Rāmagupta is a Gupta King so for unknown. Rāmagupta's other name was probably Śarmagupta.

The author elucidates his point by quoting the available extracts from the Devī Candragupta.

3. *Later Guptas of Magadha*, By *R. D. Banerji, M.A.*—The author discusses the chronology of the later Guptas and rejects Hoernle's theories which were propounded in 1903.

5. *Devendra Varman, A King of Kaliṅga (9th cent.)*, By *Kumar Gopinath Deb.*

7. *Koraṣaṇḍa Copper Plate grant of Viśākhavarma*, By *Satyanarayana Rajguru.*—This is a new inscription and the grantor Viśākhavarma is an unidentified person. The text of the plates is given in Roman characters.

9. *Chaurasi Grant of Śivakara Deva*, By *Narayana Tripathi.*—Śivakara was a king of Utkal and the present inscription of that king is edited in Roman characters with a short account of Utkal Kings.

Part III.—Septemper, 1928.

1. *The Mahā Purāṇas*, By *Dr. Haraprasad Sastri.*—The author gives a brief outline of the various topics dealt with in the Mahāpurāṇas.

5. *Cup-marked stones near Rājgir* By *Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.*

6. *Historical Date in the Garga Saṁhitā*, By *K. P. Jayaswal M. A.*—The foundation of Pāṭalīpura (Puṣpapura), King Śāliśūka, and other historical facts are gathered from the Saṁhitā.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, Vo. IV, part, ii, June, 1928.

Valipāllana Plates of Silāra Rāṭṭa Rāja—Śaka 932, By *Haran Chandra Chakaldar.*—The plates are edited in Roman characters. The plates also are printed. A short account of Rāṭṭa Rāja is also given.

Vasubandhu and Vādavidhi, By *Dr. A. B. Keith.*—Uddyotakara cites a work called Vādavidhi which the late Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana regarded to be a work of Dharmakīrti. Mr. H. R. Rangaswami Aiyangar is of opinion that it is the work of Vasubandhu and not that of Dharmakīrti. Dr. Keith supports the position of Dr. Vidyabhushana.

Study of Ancient Indian Geography, By *H. C. Ray Chaudri.*—The author gives the sources from which facts relating to the Geography of Ancient India could be gathered.

Rāḍha or Ancient Gaṅgā Rāṣṭra, By *Nundolal Dey.*

Astronomical Instrucments of the Hindus, By *S. R. Das.*

Sandhā Bhāṣā, By *Vidhuśekhara Bhattacharya.*

The women of the Meghadūta, By *Sailendranath Dhar.*

Rāvaṇas Laṅkā, By *G. Ramadas.*—The author supports the position taken up by Sirdar Kibe and locates Laṅkā near the Vindhyas.

Septemper, 1928.

Growth of Not-man in Buddhism : *Rhys Davids.*

The Nambi-āṇḍār-nambi, By *Somasundara Desikar.*—This begins a long article on the life and date of the great devotee of Vināyaka. The article is to be continued.

The Maitrakas of Valabhi : *Niharrañjan Ray.*—The historic importance of the dynasty known as the Maitrakas which has hitherto been miscalled the dynasty of the Valabhis, is treated in all its various phases. This throws much light upon a period in the history of Gujarat.

Hindu Calender, By *Sukumar Ranjan Das.*—This article shows how perfectly the Hindus from very early ages tried to get a detailed calculation of the year, month, pakṣas, days and subdivisions of a day.

Old Brāhmī Inscriptoins By *Barua. Udayagiri* and *Khaṇḍagiri caves.*

Notes on Laṅkāvatāra By *Tucci.*

The chronology of the Smṛtis By *Ghose.*—This is a just review of the unhappy and revolutionary views of J. J. Meyer perpetuated in his "Uber das Wesender Altindischen Rechtschriften und ihr verhältnis zu einander und zu Kauṭilya."

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITIAN AND IRELAND.

April, 1928.

The unknown Co-founders of Buddhism, By *C. A. F. Rhys Davids.*

Pauṣkarasādi, By *Jarl Charpentier.*—The author tries to support the conclusions of Professor Buchler that the method of writing called Puṣkarasādi was probably promulgated by the Grammarian Pauṣkarasādi. The author suggests that when the Aramaic script came to India, it was modified to suit Indian necessities and Pauṣkarasādi might have done it. The script might have corresponded the kharoṣṭhī.

July, 1928.

Tibetan Documents From Chinese Turkestan, By *F. W. Thomas.*

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

April, 1928.

Haṁsa Sandeśa—a study, By *K. Krishnamacharya B.A., B.L.*

Economic condition of the Tevāraṁ Period, By *K. R. Subrahmanyam, M. A.*

July, 1928.

Goa Viragal of the time of Hari Hara II of Vijayanagara, By *Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A.*

Mugal Land Revenue System, By *L. L. Sundara Ram, M. A.*

Rājādhirāja II By *Somasundra Desikar.*

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY : January & April, 1928.

The Southern school of Telugu literature, By *Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu.*

Sulakas and Mulakas—Mr. S. Srikantha Sastri tries 'to show the futility of linguistic gymnastics' performed in identifying *sulakas* with cholikas and *mulakas* with *mulk* in Ibrahim Mulk. He gives ample references from the Buddhistic Jātakas, Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata, and also from some incriptions of the Khāravelas, and Cāḷukyas to show that the words were used even long before Ibrahim Mulks were heard of in Indian History.

The date of Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya, By *S. E. Viraraghvacharya.*—The author of Nighaṇṭu Nāmamālā has produced a Dvisandhāna Mahākāvya, which has the same name of Kavirāja's production, *viz.,* Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya. Now as Kavirāja who flourished between "650-725 A.D." refers only to two poets who could be said to have mastered śleṣa, evidently this Naighaṇṭuka Dhanañjaya is posterior to him. He is anterior to Rājaśekhara, (880-920 A. D.) who refers to him as the author of the Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya.

Kṛṣṇa Rāya, By *J. Ramayya Pantulu.*—This is a brief summary of the reign of Kṛṣṇa Devarāya of Vijayanagar.

Govinda Dīkṣita : By *N. K. Venkatesan.*

Bhāṣyadīpa, By *S.K. Ramanatha Sastri* and *M. Ramakrishna Kavi.*—It is " boldly surmised that this Bhāṣya Dīpa must be

work of Prabhākara, referred to by various authors as Nibandhana and it is on this work that Śālikanātha wrote his commentary called the Dīpa Śikhā." This is quite different from Bhāṣyapradīpa of Śaṅkara Bhagavan of 1400 A. D.

Notes on Dravidian, By *L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar.*

VISVA BHARATI QUARTERLY, October, 1928.

A Peep into Patañjali : N. S. V. Aiyar.

Living Buddhism : Hans Koester.

Zarathūṣṭra speaks again : Jaminikanta Sen.

India, the cradle of the world civilisation : Sir Arthur Keith.

Rāmāyaṇa in Malay Land.

A LETTER OF APPRECIATION.

DR. SYLVAIN LEVI.

PROFESSEUR AU COLLEGE DE FRANCE,

PRESIDENT DE LE SOCIETE ASIATIQUE, WRITES.

My Dear Sastri,

Since leaving Colombo, I have been reading the Journal of Oriental Research and during four days I stopped only for night's rest. I have enjoyed that reading immensely. It deals with so many sides of Indian science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper रस. Here is no happy or unhappy imitation of Western discussion and criticism ; many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards. Whatever the Śāstra they are working on—Vyākaraṇa, Chandas, Alaṅkāra, Mīmāṁsā, Jyotiṣa, etc., you find them familiar with the many layers of commentaries, printed or unedited which are out of the reach of Western scholars. Not only is your Journal an Indian one, it is properly South Indian, showing that the traditional love of South Indian culture far from being in danger is as active and flourishing as ever. The many papers devoted to Tamil literature and history appeal particularly to me. This is such a large field open to researches and so promising. I am more sorry and ashamed than ever that I did not include Dravidian philology in my own work. I shall try my best to impress my students in Paris that they have to push forward in that line. If one of your young men happens to come to Paris for study, I shall request him to give lectures on Dravidian languages, Literatures, and Culture. My colleague Prof. Jules Bloch, my late student, gives a regular course of Tamil in the Code des Langues Orientales. But, as you probably know, his chief interest is in Linguistics. He will be delighted to hear that a new translation of Tolkāppiyam is appearing in your Journal. This brings me to say a word about your Madras Oriental Series. Three works have so far been started : Vibhramaviveka, being very short, has been completed ; but Vīṇāvāsavadatta has been stopped after the first

part, and I could not discover any information concerning the remaining parts to follow.

I see from the Review of books that, while I was in Japan, you have published an introductory essay to the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi. Can you kindly dispose of one copy in my favour ?

I wish and I hope that after this happy meeting at Madras, I shall keep in regular touch with yourself and the Sanskrit Academy.

Yours sincerely,
SYLVAIN LEVI.

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